

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

LITTLE KNOWN FIRM HAS
BECOME THE ENVY OF OP-
TIONS INDUSTRY

HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to rise today to honor a good friend of mine, Mr. Joseph Ritchie, the founder, chairman, and chief trader of the Chicago Research and Trading Group Ltd.

Since Joe started CRT 11 years ago, it has become the world's largest options trading company with \$2.5 billion in trades daily and over \$225 million in capital. One of the secrets of the firm's unprecedented success is its sophisticated computer trading model which squeezes small profits out of each of a high number of trades each day.

The second secret of CRT's success is Joe Ritchie himself—he developed the firm's trading model, and he carries out the calculations used to evaluate each options contracts.

The third and final secret to the firm's success is Joe's management style. He treats his staff of almost 600 more like family than like employees, providing them with free meals prepared by the firm's resident chefs. His staff is encouraged to work together for the good of the whole firm, rather than to compete with one another for individual glory. Teamwork is the rule rather than the exception. This unique management style has been responsible for the high degree of job satisfaction among the firm's staff members and has facilitated CRT's high profit margins.

In this era of insider trading and other stock market scandals, Joe Ritchie and the Chicago Research and Trading Group stand as a beacon of hope in the night. Joe has demonstrated that a firm can follow ethical business practices, can treat its employees extremely well, and can still be successful. Just as importantly, he has also shown that the spirit of innovation that allowed the United States to attain its preeminent position in the international economy is still alive and well today.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend Joe Ritchie for his accomplishments, and wish him continued success in the future. In recognition of the lessons these accomplishments hold for the rest of the American business community, I ask that a recent article about Joe that appeared in the Wall Street Journal be reprinted here in the RECORD.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 8, 1988]

LITTLE-KNOWN FIRM HAS BECOME THE ENVY
OF OPTIONS INDUSTRY
(By Scott McMurray)

CHICAGO.—Joseph Ritchie knows his math. No mere statistician, he solved the often-frustrating Rubik's Cube by turning the

puzzle a few times, then figuring out the algorithm on which it was based. When competitors were relying on mainframe computers, this options trader punched a 243-step program into a hand-held calculator.

And while Wall Street's top computer jockeys have been hamstrung by the controversy over program trading—particularly its role in the Oct. 19 stock-market crash—Mr. Ritchie and the little-known company he heads, Chicago Research & Trading Group Ltd., are miles ahead of their rivals.

CRT's secret is a computer system that uses one of the most sophisticated trading models in the securities industry. By monitoring monetary differences in options and futures prices, the model—developed mainly by Mr. Ritchie—helps the firm execute more than \$2.5 billion in trades each day.

"It's like picking up dimes in front of a bulldozer," says a CRT trader. "You can make a lot of money, but you have to keep your eye on the bulldozer."

IMPORTANT PLAYER

CRT has done both. In the 11 years since it was founded, it has become the world's largest options-trading company and the envy of the industry.

The firm's initial \$200,000 stake has grown to \$225 million in capital. Trading solely with its own money, CRT at times is the biggest single player in the most important futures and options pits: It often accounts for more than 5% of the multibillion-dollar trading volume on the Standard & Poor's 500-stock index and Treasury-bond futures, and 30% to 40% of the volume in most exchange-traded options markets here and abroad.

Though broadly similar to program trading's technique of profiting from small price differences between related investments, CRT's system is highly refined. The company was one of the first firms to give program trading between stocks and stock futures an electronic whirl, but abandoned it a few years ago as profit margins grew too slim.

At the heart of CRT's computer model are closely guarded mathematical formulas used to calculate the value of options contracts, depending mainly on the market's volatility and the time remaining until the contract expires. Most options traders use some type of formula to evaluate options, but CRT's is one of the best, traders say.

A BANG FOR ITS BUCK

Its computer programs decipher complex changes in price relationships, enabling traders to lock in minute profits and move on before most pit traders even notice the price shift. The firm trades simultaneously among scores of futures and options markets from Singapore to Chicago, aiming with trades of dizzying complexity to get the biggest bang for its buck.

That can baffle its rivals. Says the head of a competing firm: "I've seen their financial statements, and I still don't understand how they operate."

That suits CRT just fine.

Like a behemoth in ballet shoes, CRT glides through international financial markets but leaves few footprints. Almost un-

known to the investing public because it trades exclusively with other professionals, CRT is at the forefront of an emerging generation of high-tech traders who increasingly are dominating world markets. Its strategies not only eliminate the risk of betting on the direction of the markets but also enable it to cope with—and even profit from—growing market volatility.

CHECKING THE BLOODBATH

Before most investors even understood what was happening on Black Monday morning, CRT had stanchied its losses. Within an hour, the company reversed thousands of transactions. While many competing firms took days to unscramble their trading and lost hundreds of millions of dollars, CRT knew its exact holdings as it continued to trade. It lost less than \$10 million—a mere nick for a firm its size.

And while regulators kept a round-the-clock vigil at some options-trading firms, they were satisfied that CRT was shipshape after a quick visit.

Central to CRT's success is the 41-year-old Mr. Ritchie, the firm's chairman and head trader. When he and three friends started the firm, Mr. Ritchie was so strapped for cash that he wore a borrowed business suit to meetings and laid an old door across two boxes for a desk. A tomato-juice can stuck in the doorknob hole doubled as a pencil holder. Even today a desk at one end of a conference room constitutes his office, and he still arrives for work most days in corduroy pants and an open-necked shirt. A suit—bought, not borrowed—gathers dust in a nearby closet.

Mr. Ritchie, who majored in philosophy at nearby Wheaton College after a three-year stint at an Oregon Bible school, also is responsible for the calculations needed to evaluate options contracts.

Using computer-generated charts, CRT's traders pair off one trade against another—buying Treasury-bond options, for instance, while selling Treasury-bond futures—and lock in a paper-thin but nearly riskless profit.

The profit on a single \$100,000 Treasury-bond option trade, for example, typically is less than \$4.50. But that amount multiplied by the 100,000 trades CRT executes daily makes the firm a low-margin, high-volume money machine.

One morning in CRT's trading room overlooking Lake Michigan, Mr. Ritchie, surrounded by six casually dressed traders in their 20s and 30s, calmly reviews possible foreign-currency options trades. The company's elaborate computer systems have updated valuation charts for traders in each market during the night. A team of computer programmers works all night if necessary to adjust CRT's complex software programs. The face on a clock in the department reads: "One, Two, Three, Four, Who Cares?"

Compared with the dozens of screaming traders crammed into most Wall Street trading rooms, the company's nerve center is remarkably subdued. CRT's octagonal trading desk—which could easily be overlooked if placed in the cavernous trading

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

rooms at Salomon Brothers Inc. or First Boston Corp.—has banks of multicolored computer screens that carry the firm's confidential trading information.

Each pit trader has a specific amount of money allocated to his market. A trader in Treasury-bond options, for example, will buy when the market price drops below the line on his valuation chart and sell when it moves above the line. New charts are printed and rushed to the pits when prices change rapidly. Others at CRT are responsible for coordinating the hedging of one trader's positions against another.

The system also calculates CRT's consolidated risk position for all markets and shows how that position would change if the markets became more or less volatile. Since Black Monday, CRT has enhanced the system to calculate its total risk position on an unprecedented minute-by-minute basis.

Mr. Ritchie leads the currency-options group through 45 minutes of complex options valuations without once touching a pencil. CRT trades about 700 yen options and more than 3,000 Treasury-bond options in less than an hour after the group has broken up to monitor other markets.

A system designed to squeeze small profits out of each trade doesn't keep CRT from hitting the jackpot now and then. In the first few trading days of this year, CRT made nearly \$5 million on several thousand foreign-currency options trades as the dollar rose sharply and most foreign currencies plummeted.

In mid-December, CRT's oil options and futures traders made nearly \$1 million as oil prices dropped sharply. And last July, following the release of poorer-than-expected British trade figures, CRT traders made over \$500,000 in a few hours on a \$3 million investment in British government-bonds options. CRT's \$3 billion in margin money controlled about 10,000 options valued at \$750 million.

The company's charts aren't the whole secret to CRT's success. Just as important is the company's unusual culture, an outgrowth of Mr. Ritchie's homey style. CRT encourages an informal, family atmosphere, including free meals served by five on-staff chefs. While many corporate executives pay lip service to their "team," the soft-spoken Mr. Ritchie, who considers Walt Disney "my hero for the 20th century," is genuinely uncomfortable talking about his role as the company's leader. "I could've made a lot of money going off and trading for myself," he says, "but I'm prouder of the group we have here than of the money we've made."

CRT's nearly 600 employees work in teams and are rewarded for their contribution to the firm, rather than for outshining one another. CRT also puts most recruits through an exhaustive series of interviews that focus on their psychological profiles as well as apparent trading talent. (No system is foolproof, however, Jeffrey G. Donnelly, a former CRT stock-index futures trader dismissed in 1986 for allegedly diverting profits from the firm, is under investigation by a federal grand jury here for possible criminal trading violations, according to people familiar with his case. Mr. Donnelly declines comment.)

CRT requires most professional recruits to take a pay cut to join the firm to ensure that money isn't their only motivation in changing jobs. Once on board, however, top employees can quickly earn six-figure salaries.

But as it expands, the firm has been forced to adopt a more corporate structure.

Last year Roderick Smith, formerly a managing director of Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Group in London, joined CRT in the newly created position of chief executive officer. Though it is aimed in part at giving CRT principals more time for other pursuits, a more corporate form could dampen its vaunted esprit de corps and reduce productivity.

The growth is also taking CRT into riskier dealings. It is expanding into over-the-counter options trading, which exposes the firm to greater risks than trading on exchanges, where a clearinghouse guarantees against defaults.

In late December CRT was named to the select group of 42 primary government securities dealers who trade directly with the Federal Reserve Board. The move to primary-dealership status is aimed at increasing revenue from government securities trading, which CRT entered in 1986 by buying a small dealership, and at attracting clients in Europe and Japan.

Another market crash seems to be the least of the firm's worries. Mr. Smith, the chief executive, says that morale at the firm is higher than ever following the crash. He is more concerned about the effect of a steep recession. "The thing we need as a machine is activity," he says. "Our biggest worry is a slow bleeding to death if the markets dry up."

AMERICAN HEART MONTH

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to remind my colleagues that by congressional resolution and Presidential proclamation, February is "American Heart Month." I join in recognizing the American Heart Association's [AHA] progress toward its goal of the "reduction of premature death and disability from cardiovascular diseases and Stroke."

As a result of the research, education and prevention programs of the American Heart Association, the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute [NHLBI], and the National Institute of Neurological and Communicative Disorders and Stroke [NINCDS], this Nation has experienced a remarkable reduction in coronary heart disease and stroke. The AHA reports that from 1976 to 1986 the death rate from coronary heart disease has declined by 27.9 percent and that stroke has fallen by 40.2 percent. According to AHA, this downward trend is directly related to the increased focus on the prevention of cardiovascular diseases by controlling its risk factors including smoking, high blood cholesterol, high blood pressure and diets rich in saturated fats and cholesterol.

Despite this progress, AHA estimates that in 1988 heart attack will strike 1.5 million individuals, killing about 540,000. Stroke will claim 500,000 victims, killing approximately 155,000. I am particularly concerned about the incidence of stroke.

Stroke, a cardiovascular disease that affects blood vessels supplying oxygen and nutrients to the brain, is the third largest killer in the United States behind heart attack and

cancer. According to the AHA, stroke is the leading cause of long-term disability. Although they estimate that stroke survivors number about 2 million, many of them confront extraordinary medical expenses. AHA reports an estimated figure of \$12.9 billion for 1987 stroke associated health care costs.

Research has shown that black Americans have more than a 60-percent greater risk of death and disability from stroke than whites. Since hypertension constitutes the most significant risk factor for stroke, many attribute this alarming statistic to higher occurrence of high blood pressure in blacks than in whites. The more efficient control of hypertension has been called the chief explanation for the declining death rate of stroke in the past 10 years.

In addition to progress with hypertension, the AHA cites other important improvements in the prevention and treatment of stroke. They include the identification of other controllable risk factors: Diabetes, heart disease, high red blood cell count and transient ischemic attacks—a series of little strokes that sometimes precede a major stroke; the reassessment of neurovascular procedures; improved diagnostic and monitoring techniques; and the development of new methods for immediate administration after stroke to hopefully reduce its debilitating effects.

During "American Heart Month," I draw special recognition to these advancements and thank the American Heart Association, the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute, and the National Institute of Neurological and Communicative Disorders and Stroke for their contributions. Since stroke predominantly strikes the elderly, as our aging population grows, we must continue to invest resources in stroke research, treatment, prevention and education.

ENERGY AWARD TO MASSACHUSETTS

HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to congratulate the people of the State of Massachusetts for achieving the highest rank among all the States of this Nation for outstanding commitment to the environment and clean energy. For that effort, Massachusetts this week received the second annual State of the States award from the Fund for Renewable Energy. It shares this top ranking with the State of Wisconsin.

Massachusetts has achieved an unsurpassed record of energy efficiency and energy-related pollution control. In 1987, the State passed laws providing strong conservation standards, effective "least-cost" utility regulations, energy-wise building codes and targeted renewable energy tax incentives. It is a record that makes us proud and sets high standards for the entire country.

I am particularly proud to see the State enact tough energy efficiency standards for energy-guzzling appliances that go beyond the nationwide standards adopted by Congress

last year. By working with Governor Dukakis and other State leaders in Massachusetts, we were able to push forward with Federal standards on major home appliances, while not compromising the State's interest in adding tough lighting standards at the State level. Lighting remains a major national opportunity for additional energy savings.

Massachusetts also pressed forward with renewable energy tax incentives in the face of the administration's hostility to all nonnuclear energy subsidies. In addition to the renewable tax credit, we are pursuing conservation, cogeneration, hydroelectricity and clean burning coal. Finally, the State is leading the way on acid rain research and control, pesticide reduction and intelligent land-use planning.

It is for those reasons that the State of Massachusetts is to be commended for its energy and environmental accomplishments and for helping to provide national leadership in this critical area for our Nation.

ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. STENY H. HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, On February 24, Estonians all around the world celebrated the 70th anniversary of Estonia's short-lived independence of 22 years.

At this point, we do not know how this major milestone was marked inside Estonia. Soviet authorities have closed Estonia to all foreign diplomats and journalists. But, based on past experience, I am sure that the courageous men and women of Estonia will find a fitting way to make their views known. Indeed, that is why the Kremlin has imposed a temporary blockade on Estonia.

It is not surprising that Soviet officials feel threatened by open expression of genuine popular sentiment in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. After all, for the past 48 years, the Soviet Government has illegally occupied those Baltic territories. The Soviet occupation of the three Baltic States is the result of the secret Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Stalin and Hitler. The United States Government has never recognized the Soviet annexation of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia.

Over the years, Estonians have suffered as a result of the continuing Soviet occupation of their country. In 1940 and 1941, over 40,000 Estonians were forcibly sent to Siberia. After World War II, many thousands more Estonians followed. The last President of independent Estonia, Konstantin Pats, died in a Stalinist camp. In recent years, thousands of Estonians, young and old, have participated in demonstrations to protest various Soviet policies in their country: Russification, Slavic settlement in Estonia, ecological damage, declining living standards, and, of course, military occupation. Arrests of Estonian human rights activists have been frequent; today, two courageous and committed Estonians, Mart Niklus and Enn Tarto, are still imprisoned. Tragically, another Estonian dissident, Mart Niklus, died in labor camp in 1981.

Dissent seems to be accelerating in Estonia today, with more demonstrations and protest

declarations being issued. Testifying before the Commission, Estonian activist and former political prisoner Tiit Madison said that the June 1987 demonstration in Riga, at which some 5,000 demonstrators and bystanders gathered to place flowers at Riga's Monument of Freedom and to denounce Stalin's crimes, "were like a torch which helped flame sentiments throughout the Baltic."

For the first time, the Estonian press has called on Russians living in Estonia to learn Estonian. Four Estonian intellectuals have even drawn up a plan to make Estonia economically self-sufficient. Sixteen Estonian dissidents have organized the Estonian National Independence Party.

In the wake of major riots in Kazakhstan, Gorbachev stated at the Central Committee plenum in January 1987, that the nationality issue had not been dealt with seriously enough. Then, in February 1987, the Soviet Government announced an early release program under which 200 political prisoners—many imprisoned for nationalist activities—were eventually released. More recently, in February of this year, General Secretary Gorbachev said at a party plenum that nationality problems were a fundamental vital issue for Soviet society. Comparatively speaking, the present Soviet leadership has responded more flexibly to nationality demands and seems to be more willing to address the nationality issue more realistically.

Mr. Speaker, the Helsinki Final Act in its Third Basket stressed the important contribution of national minorities and regional cultures to give concrete expression to the rights of minorities guaranteed under Principle VII. In addition, of course, Principle VIII of the final act addresses the crucial issue of national self-determination.

No nation has a perfect record in dealing with and resolving the divergent interests and demands of its minority groups or of its various nationalities. The Helsinki Commission urges the Soviet Union to give concrete expression to the commitments it made with regard to protecting the rights and freedoms of all of its citizens—and to permit referendums on self-determination.

CONGRATULATIONS TO WINNERS OF WESTINGHOUSE SCIENCE TALENT SEARCH

HON. TED WEISS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to bring to your attention three of our Nation's brightest and most promising high school students.

Aurika Wanda Checinska, Chetan Nayak, and Brian Lee Zuckerman are winners of this year's Westinghouse Science Talent Search. All three are residents of New York's 17th District, which I have the honor to represent.

The Westinghouse contest honors students for their inquiring and intelligent minds and their motivation to pursue science and mathematics. It is the oldest and most prestigious competition for teenage scientists.

I am very pleased that of the 40 winners chosen nationwide, 16 are from the State of New York. In fact, no other State can boast more winners than the district I represent.

At a time when our Nation's educational system is being criticized and our technological competitiveness is slipping, these young men and women are a great source of pride and inspiration.

I congratulate Aurika, Chetan, Brian, and all of the other participants and wish them success in their future endeavors.

COMMEMORATING ESTONIA'S 70TH INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, today we mark the 70th anniversary of Estonia's Independence Day. While we friends of an independent Estonia celebrate this most auspicious day in the United States and in many other countries around the world, the Estonians themselves can celebrate only in the privacy of their own hearts because Estonia continues to be a captive nation held under the tyranny of the Soviet Union.

On February 24, 1918, the people of Estonia declared their independence. This country was well received among the community of nations, and in 1921 became a member of the League of Nations. During this period of independence, Estonia and her people thrived economically, socially and culturally.

In 1939, Estonia became a pawn in the struggle between larger nations. Hitler and Stalin secretly agreed to partition Europe, giving all three Baltic States to the Soviets. The Soviet Government moved quickly to establish its domination over Estonia. Using a pattern we have seen the Soviets use over and over again—a pattern of "mutual assistance" pacts, ultimatums, installation of Communist puppet governments, staged one-party elections, compulsory nationalization, house searches, mass arrests, deportation, summary executions and terror—the Soviet Government consolidated its control over Estonia and its sister Baltic nations of Lithuania and Latvia.

Many years have passed since Estonia first declared its independence, and from the time when Estonians fought the Soviet occupation in the 1940's. We have seen a new generation of Estonians grow up under Soviet domination, and we have seen that even in this new generation as Estonian adults continue to cherish the dream of a truly free and independent Estonia. This past summer in Tallinn, Estonians for the first time, participated in a mass demonstration calling for their independence. How many more such demonstrations will be allowed by the Soviets is unknown. Even the one last summer showed the world that the yearning for independence continues to burn brightly.

Mr. Speaker, it is important that all who cherish freedom and independence join in spirit with the people of Estonia to demonstrate both our concern for their situation and our hope that they will once again join the

community of nations as a truly independent member. I congratulate the people of Estonia on the 70th anniversary of their Independence Day, and look forward to the time when it can be celebrated in Estonia as openly as it is celebrated in the United States and the other democracies of the world.

TRIBUTE TO THOMAS S. RAGSDALE, JR.

HON. ROBIN TALLON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. TALLON. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to pay tribute today to a citizen of my district, Thomas S. Ragsdale, Jr., of Lake City, SC. Mr. Ragsdale is president of the T.S. Ragsdale Co. He was recently named one of Tobacco International magazine's seven "Men of the Year." Mr. Ragsdale is the first independent tobacco dealer ever selected for the award.

I would like to commend Mr. Ragsdale for his outstanding contributions to the tobacco industry. He has been a pioneer and an innovator in the production and processing of tobacco. I would like to share with you the following article, reprinted from the December 1987 edition of Tobacco International.

TOBACCO INTERNATIONAL NAMES THOMAS RAGSDALE JR., IN TOP SEVEN "MEN OF THE YEAR"

For Thomas S. Ragsdale Jr., there was never any doubt that he would become a tobacco man. He grew at his father's side fascinated by tobacco auctions, studying processing procedures, and roaming the T.S. Ragsdale Co. plant in Lake City, South Carolina. Thomas S. Ragsdale Sr. spent countless hours teaching the son who would lead his company, how to buy competitively, to process effectively, and most importantly, to insist on quality while always looking for ways to improve . . . to do the job better . . . to become more efficient.

"My father taught me that tradition was a challenge to excel, not a reason to relax," reflects Ragsdale, president of T.S. Ragsdale Co. "He spent his entire career building a company that was committed to providing the best for its clients."

After serving in the U.S. Army Air Force, the younger Ragsdale officially joined the company in 1948. As it grew, T.S. Ragsdale Co. earned a reputation for sound capital investments in equipment to insure the best possible product at the lowest possible price. The company was the first dealer in the U.S. to go to 100 percent electronic picking and threshing. By 1973, computers were being installed to monitor the picking of tobacco. When others were reluctant to modernize, Ragsdale built a state of the art tobacco factory equipped with the finest combination of Cardwell and AMF equipment backed up by vibrating shakers. Today, Tom Ragsdale is convinced that the commitment to progress is one reason for his company's success.

"We have always given a tremendous amount of personal attention to the processing and handling of our customers' tobacco. We commit our management to closely monitor every detail. When we see a way to improve quality and to cut cost, we make the investment," states Ragsdale. "In 1956,

there were 15 tobacco processors in South Carolina. Today, there's one . . . T.S. Ragsdale Co. That's testimony to both our insistence for the highest quality and our commitment to modernization."

Long before diversification became an industry trend, Ragsdale started searching for business opportunities that would complement the seasonal nature of the tobacco business. In 1957, he led the company into the charcoal briquet industry. This diversification enabled the company to utilize its labor, warehouses, and equipment on a year-round basis. This Ragsdale diversification has translated into lower costs for its tobacco customers. Today, the Embers Charcoal Division annually produces in excess of 70,000 tons of charcoal briquets for 14 million outdoor barbecues. Embers is the third largest charcoal manufacturer in the United States and the leading exporter of briquets to Europe.

"Our company's main objective is maximum efficiency in order to generate lower overhead and lower costs," asserts Ragsdale. "We don't diversify just for diversification's sake. Each company in our organization must complement all the other companies. Our most recent diversification, Ragsdale Transportation Brokerage Co. and Embers Express Trucking Co. allow Ragsdale customers the benefit of precise tobacco movement as well as offering extremely competitive freight rates."

Today, T.S. Ragsdale Co. employs over 200 full time employees with an additional 100 during the height of the tobacco season. While the company has grown considerably over the last 20 years, Ragsdale is still actively involved with all levels of the corporation.

"Tom understands that good people are essential to success. He demands, excellence, and he expects results; however, he is extremely loyal to his people," states Dick Clayton, vice president of leaf sales and purchases. "And, no one in the tobacco industry works harder than Tom Ragsdale. For Tom, good enough is never really good enough."

"Tommy is always doing something," reflects Carol Ragsdale. "It doesn't matter whether he's working or hunting or playing with the grandchildren, he's totally involved." Ragsdale has been both an Elder and a Deacon at the Lake City Presbyterian Church. He has served on the Board of Directors of Coker College and the St. James School. He is on the Board of Directors of Atlantis Airlines and has chaired the Management Committee.

"No one knows the tobacco business like Dad," says Smith Ragsdale, executive vice president. "When we were kids, he always took the time to involve us in the company." Both T. Smith Ragsdale III and Charles S. Ragsdale have followed their father into the family business. Tom's daughter, Caroline Reutter, serves on the Board of Directors.

As he looks to the future, Ragsdale is confident. "In the near future, the domestic and international markets will be more competitive. Our company will continue to be aggressive," he asserts. "We will continue to search for methods to keep our costs low to our customers. We will maintain our commitment to the two things that have made us successful—quality product and service excellence."

"From the time I was a young man, I just knew I would spend my life in tobacco. It's an exciting, challenging industry that's changing every day. And, at the same time, there is a wonderful tradition based on in-

tegrity and trust," observes Ragsdale. "There's just no business like the tobacco business."

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. LEON E. PANETTA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1988

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in recognizing the 70th anniversary of Lithuanian Independence Day on Tuesday, February 16. The Lithuanian people have displayed tremendous courage in their fight for self-determination and we cannot ignore their valiant efforts to maintain their national identity.

On that date in 1918, the Council of Lithuania declared itself a nation state which became a free and sovereign state. Lithuania flourished economically, politically, and religiously. However, as we know, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939 spelled the end of these freedoms when Germany ceded its territorial claims to Lithuania to the Soviet Union. The following year, the Soviet Union began its forceful occupation of the nations in the Baltic region including Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The Soviets then attempted to assimilate the Baltic nations into the Soviet Union while tens of thousands of people, whose greatest crime was the desire for freedom, were murdered or sent into internal exile.

It is a great testament to the will of the Lithuanian people that they withstood such harsh measures of repression and acculturation, and yet continued to maintain a language, culture, and religion unique to themselves. For 48 years, the Lithuanian people have shown a resilience and a tenacity that demonstrates their unwavering commitment to the right of self-determination.

The freedoms enjoyed by the Lithuanian people during that nation's short-lived independence were lost, but were not forgotten. To this day, all the free nations of the world share the dream of Lithuanians; to create a homeland and a nation that is truly their own to ensure the survival of their rich heritage. The challenge before us is to ensure that the struggle of the Lithuanian people is never forgotten so that once again their national identity shall never perish.

BLACK HISTORY MONTH

HON. SAM GEJDENSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1988

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay honor and tribute to Black History Month, and to acknowledge those black Americans who contributed greatly not only to African-American culture and history, but to world history.

Since 1976, February has been celebrated as Black History Month, but the origins of this event date back to 1926, when Dr. Carter G.

Woodson set aside a special period of time in February to recognize the heritage, achievements and contributions of African Americans.

There have been countless individuals who have made important contributions to the lives of African Americans and other minorities. Many of those contributions, however, would not have been possible if it were not for the tremendous efforts of a much smaller number of persons. Male and female, their courage, determination, integrity and talents were unmatched. Because they possessed such qualities, doors that were once closed are now opened. They are the ones who made a difference, they are the movers and shakers that helped make the world better for blacks.

Dating back to colonial times with Crispus Attucks, blacks have made great progress in many areas of American life. They have made practical and significant contributions to the fields of science and invention, to medicine, to the arts, music and entertainment, to education and government, and to business.

Scientists like Dr. Charles Drew and Dr. Daniel Hale Williams have helped to save numerous lives with their contributions to medicine and to the lives of all peoples. Dr. Drew, a black man, developed the first blood plasma bank, which saved numerous lives and enabled hospitals to store blood for longer periods of time. And, Dr. Daniel Williams, a surgeon, was the first black man to perform a successful operation on the human heart.

Political figures, educators, and scholars like Andrew Young, Mary Church Terrell, Benjamin Mays, Barbara Jordan, Shirley Chisholm, Mary McLeod Bethune, Harold Washington, and John Hope Franklin have all contributed tirelessly and unselfishly to the political and mental growth of black Americans. And, so many of our own colleagues, including Ron Dellums, John Conyers, Mickey Leland, and John Lewis, a hero of the civil rights movement who fought at the side of Martin Luther King, have also contributed their efforts and time to our great Nation.

And, let us not forget about those who have provided us with great literary works and pieces like Gwendolyn Brooks, Phillis Wheatley, Zora Neale Hurston, Toni Morrison, and James Baldwin. Nor those who provided musical, dance, and theater entertainment like operatic diva Leontyne Price, musical geniuses Quincy Jones, Michael Jackson, and Steve Wonder and premiere female artists like Diana Ross, Lena Horne, and Dorothy Dandridge. Further, we should acknowledge those who have presented an even stronger impact on the African-American community within the past 3 years. Those like Redskins Superbowl quarterback Doug Williams, Olympic ice skater Debbie Thomas, former Miss America Vanessa Williams, Radio City Music Hall Rockette Jennifer Jones, fashion designers Willie Smith and Patrick Kelley, National Security Advisor Colin Powell, Jr., and space shuttle astronaut Ron McNair. Each has contributed something of note to the long upward climb of black people in not only America, but in Europe and in other parts of the world.

But, in applauding the significant strides and contributions these blacks have provided, let us not forget about the plight of the brethren in South Africa, of the continued starvation among those in Ethiopia, or of the recent es-

calation of race related incidents here in the United States. One should also remember that pride and awareness in one's culture and history should not be celebrated only 1 month a year, but should be highlighted in the lives of all, all year around, as a tool of inspiration for the continued growth and development of the race. Let all people work together in one body so that all cultures may be able to learn, accept and appreciate the distinguished role people of all races, nationalities, and cultures have contributed to society.

OUR FRIEND TAIWAN

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to pay tribute to an important political figure and good friend—Chiang Ching-kuo. Most Members now know that Chiang Ching-kuo recently passed away, ending his 10-year reign as President for the Republic of China on Taiwan. I have visited Taiwan on numerous occasions since 1970 and I have always been impressed by the hospitality of its people and the outstanding success it has experienced since its formation.

During the last few decades Taiwan has experienced much economic growth. Between 1970 and 1980, Taiwan's economy grew about 10 percent each year, making Taiwan into an economic power. The ROC currently is the sixth largest United States trading partner. Indirect trade between the ROC and the mainland exceeds \$2 billion annually. Economic growth throughout this country is clearly abundant, and it truly reflects favorably upon the leadership of the Republic of China.

Taiwan is also a bastion of freedom. We only hear about citizens from the Peoples Republic of China risking their lives to immigrate to the Republic of China. We never hear of Taiwanese citizens attempting to flee to the mainland. Citizens of Taiwan are free to run their own businesses; they are free to immigrate; they are free to practice religion; they are free to criticize the government. Chiang Ching-kuo deserves much of the credit for the many freedoms that the people of Taiwan now have.

I urge my colleagues to read the following article written by Dr. Frederick Chien, representative for the Coordination Council for North American Affairs. Dr. Chien gives a detailed review of President Ching-kuo's life and the many accomplishments for which he was responsible. It is important for Members of Congress to remember that Taiwan is one of our best friends and that we will all benefit from understanding the accomplishments of its most recent President.

LEGACY OF PRESIDENT CHIANG CHING-KUO

(Presented by Dr. Frederick F. Chien, Representative, Coordination Council for North American Affairs Chicago Committee, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Feb. 9, 1988)

I consider it a great privilege to be with you today. The Chicago Committee of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations is one of this country's most prestigious forums. I

am honored that you extended an invitation to me and gave me this opportunity to discuss with you momentous events which are occurring in the Republic of China today.

As many of you probably are already aware, my country lost its great leader and President, Chiang Ching-kuo, less than four weeks ago. He was an immensely popular figure—a populist by nature—and his death was mourned not just by those holding positions of leadership in government and business but, as you say in America, by "the man on the street," who forms the bedrock of our society.

It may be pertinent to note in this regard that an annual public opinion poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Foundation shortly before President Chiang's death showed his approval rating in 1987 at 85 percent. This was up seven percent from 1986, reflecting the overwhelming support he received from the citizens of my country for his bold democratization program initiated last year. An 85 percent approval rating would cause most American politicians to turn green from envy, I suspect, and indicates that Chiang Ching-kuo must have possessed unusual qualities of leadership.

This should come as no surprise. He was schooled in leadership by his father, President Chiang Kai-shek. As the eldest son, Chiang Ching-kuo learned his lessons well and earned the high offices he held. He was elected to the presidency only after more than 40 years of service in various government and party positions, including six years as premier.

It was my personal privilege to know well both President Chiang Kai-shek and our late President Chiang Ching-kuo. I served as President Chiang Kai-shek's secretary for ten years and was privy to many of his meetings with world leaders. I saw firsthand how skilled he was in the art of diplomacy. Likewise, I knew President Chiang Ching-kuo for some 30 years and during his term as premier, I served as his official spokesman. That was a great experience for me, and I shall never forget how President Chiang Ching-kuo instructed me when I assumed my duties.

President Chiang said, "Fred, you are now my spokesman. I know you are a man of integrity and would never say anything which is untrue on your own account. Never think that you have to tell a lie on my account. Always be straightforward and tell the truth, and I will be well-served."

So, I can tell you without reservation that President Chiang was a man of high moral principles and integrity. In short, he said what he meant and he meant what he said. This characteristic, perhaps more than any other, allowed him over the years to inspire confidence and to make an indelible mark on the history of the Republic of China.

But let's not get ahead of ourselves. Let's look back to President Chiang's earlier accomplishments. Then we can appreciate even more the service he rendered his country and the vision he had for the future of the Republic of China.

I said earlier that President Chiang Ching-kuo was a "populist." He was comfortable in the presence of the powerful, but I earnestly believe he was happiest in the company of working people. He moved easily among the people he served and took pleasure in trips to factories and farms and visits with shopkeepers and laborers. He appreciated the contribution they made to creating a modern society on Taiwan and he wanted them to know it. He was determined

that policies of the government would result in a continuously higher standard of living for them and greater participation in the processes of government.

He availed himself of every possible opportunity to attain those goals for the Chinese on Taiwan. As chairman of the Vocational Assistance Commission for Retired Servicemen, he understood the needs of those who had served their country on the battle field and had to make the transition to private life. Just as you created special training and employment programs for veterans in the United States, Chiang Ching-kuo did so on Taiwan. We Chinese are known for our extended families and for making sure that relatives are cared for in their old age. But many soldiers had been unable to bring their families with them to Taiwan. In their old age, they found themselves alone. President Chiang made sure they were not forgotten by the country they had served; they were cared for.

And as he understood the peculiar problems of the old, he understood the needs and ambitions of the young. As director for more than 20 years of the China Youth Corps, he knew that China's future depended upon the development of its young people. He had the ability to instill in them his own intense nationalism, his devotion to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who founded the Republic of China, and his dedication to the principles of democracy and free enterprise which are the foundation for what many call the "miracle" which has happened on Taiwan. He knew that young people had to keep busy. Corps projects and summer camps became outlets for the constructive energy of hundreds of thousands of young Chinese who now hold my country's future in their hands.

Let me pause for a moment to say that the Republic of China would not be the international economic power that it is today without careful planning over the years. Throughout the world, we have seen what has happened when developing countries set out helter-skelter to try to improve their lot. Not only are they not successful, usually they take steps backwards. Economic woes are followed by political woes and, all too often, domestic unrest degenerates into violence, anarchy and bloodshed.

Thanks to the vision of such persons as President Chiang, Taiwan's progress has been planned and orderly. Social and political progress have kept step with economic progress. We are always flattered when scholars hold up Taiwan's experience as an example to other developing countries.

President Chiang had the long view, and that long view is a great part of his legacy. When he became premier in 1972, the country was beginning to understand its potential as a major exporting nation. But it lacked the infrastructure necessary to achieve that goal. Times were not so good then, either. Because of the international oil crisis, the treasury was depleted and the government was operating at a deficit. The future was unsure, and the faint-hearted were arguing for retrenchment. It was in this economic climate that then Premier Chiang Ching-kuo proposed the "10 Major Construction Projects," which, while necessary to establish a viable infrastructure, would require tremendous public expenditures. He was willing to take the risk to insure Taiwan's place in world trade in the decades to come. He prevailed and all China shall be forever grateful, for he laid the foundation—carefully, block-by-block—for the "economic miracle" which was to follow.

Chiang Ching-kuo knew that Taiwan could not be a major manufacturing country unless it could easily move raw materials and finished goods about the island. So he built major highways to keep domestic commerce flowing. Taiwan could not ship its goods to world markets without deep water ports and modern shipping facilities. So he built two new world-class ports. Taiwan could not make the transition from light to heavy industry without the ability to produce a vital raw material—steel. So he launched Taiwan's modern steel industry. Taiwan could not produce goods without energy to turn the factory wheels. So he built new power plants. And Taiwan could not entice foreign investment to the island without a major new international airport. So he built one.

Piece by piece, he put the program together so each project complemented the other and formed a solid foundation for a dynamic export economy. He was not alone in his undertakings. The free Chinese on Taiwan were with him. He called for national sacrifice and the support of all the island's citizens. He got both, and his detractors shook their heads in disbelief as the projects were begun and successfully completed.

But neither he nor the country could afford to rest upon its laurels. Other countries in Asia were making progress also, though not at the same rate. It was clear that Taiwan would not be a leader for long if it were content to remain primarily a producer of labor-intensive products and be a captive of traditional industries.

When Chiang Ching-kuo took the oath of office for the first time as President in 1987, his work was cut out for him. High-tech was just around the corner. The handwriting was on the wall: any country which could not upgrade its economy would be out of the game. Developing countries would be forced to play in the minor leagues and compete against themselves. Countries such as Japan, Germany and the United States would play in the majors.

President Chiang was not willing to accept minor league status for the ROC. He urged the people on Taiwan to shift toward a technologically intense economy. We made a conscious decision to cede part of our share of such markets as plastics, textiles, and other inexpensive consumer goods for the opportunity to move with the major industrialized nations into the new age of computers and high-tech. As you know, that has proved to be a wise decision.

The Republic of China on Taiwan is now the fifth largest trading partner of the United States in the world. Last year two-way trade between our countries was \$31.2 billion. Building the foundation for a major manufacturing and exporting nation and developing that nation into what is now one of the world's healthiest economies was no small task. It is a legacy that few leaders have ever been privileged to leave with their people.

Today, the signs of prosperity and economic well-being are evident throughout Taiwan. Today per capita income has risen dramatically to about \$5000, one of the highest in Asia. A study of the distribution of wealth has showed that the gap between the top and bottom of the income scale has narrowed to one of the best ratios in the world. On Taiwan, the ratio of the average per capita income of the top 20 percent and the bottom 20 percent is an amazing 4.4:1. Another survey showed that a great majority—85 percent—of the people consider themselves "middle class," a sign of econom-

ic and social stability. Symbols of affluence and creature comforts—cars, refrigerators, televisions—are common. The fruit of Taiwan's progress has been shared by all its citizens.

President Chiang was never satisfied. The words he had written in his diary on his 70th birthday at the beginning of this decade were always fresh in his mind. He had said then, "Time flies. I know I have done too little to express my gratitude to my father or to fulfill even a small fraction of the expectations of my compatriots." He could not rest until, in his words, "Anything that must be done for the good of the people (has been) done." He still had mountains to climb.

I have mentioned that as premier he spearheaded the "10 Major Construction Projects." They had provided a solid foundation for Taiwan's economic development but, when he became president, he knew, it was time to bolster that foundation. And he felt compelled to look for ways to improve the quality of life of the almost 20 million people of the Republic of China.

Working closely with the country's leadership and highly trained young Chinese professionals—now a mainstay of our development efforts—he proposed a 14-point program designed to insure Taiwan's continued progress and touch every life on the island.

So even in his 70s and in ill-health—he had long suffered from diabetes—President Chiang still possessed great energy and determination. His agenda was that of a man half his age. And remember, too, that at the same time he was having to deal each day with the serious problems resulting from the ROC's trade imbalance with the United States; maintaining a strong defense system to deter the mainland's designs on Taiwan—he was a former minister of defense; and the day-to-day problems of running a government.

But the last chapter still was not written. And it is that chapter which may be most memorable. To paraphrase the words of the American poet Robert Frost, Chiang Ching-kuo still had promises to keep—to his father and his compatriots—and miles to go before he slept.

President Chiang looked about him and saw a prosperous economy. He saw an educated citizenry. He saw hundreds of thousands of persons traveling abroad each year, expanding their horizons and their expectations. He saw a pluralistic society where people were eager to learn more about democracy and the science of self-government. Looking around him, he saw a country that was more secure than at any time since the government relocated on Taiwan in 1949. And he realized that the task before him—perhaps his last major task—was to perfect the country's democratic institutions and insure future generations of free Chinese maximum involvement in their government.

He proposed that the Emergency Decree, which had existed for 38 years, be lifted, removing the last vestiges of "martial law" on Taiwan. In fact, the decree had little effect on the citizens of my country and a survey showed that it was near the bottom of their list of concerns. But the specter of "martial law" continued to be raised in the international community and President Chiang wanted to remove it and settle the matter once and for all.

Opposition candidates had been clamoring for some time for the right to form a party and run a slate of candidates under a single banner rather than running individually as independents against the ruling party. The

restrictions on the formation of new political parties were lifted, and the door was opened for a multi-party political system to challenge President Chiang's own KMT. Interestingly enough, when the first elections were over, the KMT still polled about the same percentage it had polled in previous elections (70 percent), giving a vote of confidence to the KMT and its leadership in its first head-on challenge.

Restrictions on newspapers were eased. Already licenses have been granted for the publication of new newspapers, and established newspapers have the right to expand their coverage. An educated population is an inquiring population, and Taiwan's newspapers now will be a greater source of news and opinion. The war of words has begun, for as the English writer, John Milton, said, "Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions, for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making."

On Taiwan, we believe, quite sincerely, that democracy must be learned. We have looked to the United States above all others as our teacher in this area just as we have looked to you repeatedly for lessons in free enterprise and market economy. The United States has outstripped every other country in the world in developing democratic institutions and creating prosperity for its people. We are grateful, and our imitation is intended as the most sincere form of flattery.

Last of all, President Chiang tackled the problem of how to make our legislative body more representative of the people of Taiwan without abandoning the Republic of China's claim to represent all China and its ultimate goal of reunification with the mainland. Revitalizing the structure of the national law-making body and admitting new, younger blood has just begun, but it took a bold leader to focus the attention of his countrymen on this sensitive problem and, we hope, pave the way for an ultimate solution.

President Chiang Ching-kuo's democratization program, viewed broadly, as I noted, as a "display of courage and confidence in the people to whom he had brought unprecedented prosperity," drew accolades from throughout the world. And the citizens of my country have talked of little else since these dramatic reforms were proposed and, one-by-one, began to become reality.

There is one more important part of President Chiang's legacy which I think I should discuss with you.

For seven decades, members of the Chiang family—first president Chiang Kai-shek and later his son Chiang Ching-kuo—have been prominent figures in both the Kuomintang (Nationalist party) and the government of the Republic of China. Despite efforts by President Chiang Ching-kuo to dispel speculation, rumors persisted that he would somehow pass the mantle of leadership to another member of the Chiang family. Obviously, some observers did not understand his populist nature. Now, history has proved his sincerity.

Because President Chiang was in ill health for a long while, questions concerning succession constantly arose. He often pointed to the constitution and said firmly that succession would be orderly and in accord therewith. When he died January 13, there was no doubt on Taiwan what would happen. In accord with the constitution adopted in 1946, Vice President Lee Teng-hui, a native of Taiwan province and proven administrator, was sworn in immediately. Government in the Republic of China pro-

ceeded without a hitch. President Chiang's insistence that there was no place in Taiwan's modern democratic government for a family dynasty is now an important part of his legacy.

It is important to note that President Lee, who became vice president in 1984, is the first Taiwan-born president of the Republic of China. His succession blunts much of the criticism which opposition leaders have made about the participation of Taiwan-born Chinese in the government of the Republic of China. The truth is that President Chiang worked hard to make the KMT an inclusive, rather than an exclusive, political party. Today more than 80 percent of the members of the KMT were born on Taiwan and about half of our cabinet ministers. Any person who wants to participate in the party can do so and the height to which he or she can rise depends only on the limits of their own energies, ambitions and abilities.

President Chiang Ching-kuo, shortly before his death, dictated a last testament which was witnessed by several government leaders, including then Vice President Lee. He called upon the people to continue to seek reunification with the mainland, oppose communism and, importantly, to "actively carry constitutional democratic development forward without interruption." Upon assuming the office of president, Dr. Lee Teng-hui called upon the citizens of the Republic of China "to follow without fail the final exhortations of President Chiang . . . with one heart and mind in a united effort." The torch was passed.

President Chiang's leadership will be deeply missed. But, he was a wise man. He knew he would not stay on the scene forever and planned carefully for our future. His legacy actually has two parts: unprecedented economic progress and democratic reforms he initiated during his life, and the clear path he marked for the Republic of China's democratic development after his death.

One editorialist summed up by stating, "Taiwan, which first showed Third World nations how to use capitalism, free trade and export-led growth to turn a third-world peasant economy into a sophisticated exporter with a flourishing middle class, now appears bent on demonstrating how democratization can be made to follow economic success."¹ In the long run, the extraordinary economic success and the democratic reforms instituted during President Chiang Ching-kuo's last years will be equally treasured by the citizens of the Republic of China.

COMMEMORATION OF BLACK HISTORY MONTH

HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1988

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, this year, in commemorating Black History Month, I would like to share with my colleagues information which has been brought to my attention by Alton Yates—senior administrative aide to Jacksonville Mayor Tommy Hazouri—about the history of Free Blacks in Florida. The following is an excerpt from an article, "The

¹ The Ledger-Star, Norfolk, Virginia, January 5, 1988.

Free Negro in Florida", written in 1965 by historian Leedell W. Neyland.

The emergence of the free Negro as a distinct group in Florida is indebted to a series of problems created by fugitive slaves from the nearby English colonies of Georgia and South Carolina who took refuge in the Spanish colony of Florida. When English authorities demanded their return, the Spanish responded by keeping the fugitive slaves and reimbursing the English claimants up to 200 pesos per slave for their losses. On April 12, 1731, the Council of the Indies in Madrid, Spain, decided that no negroes who escaped to Florida should be returned nor should any more be paid for in the future.

During the seven year span from 1731 to 1738, Negro fugitives came into Florida with increasing rapidity. Since they did not consider themselves chattel slaves, they soon began to demand their freedom. Consequently, on May 31, 1738, Governor Montiano reported that various Negroes, fugitives from the English colonies held as slaves by citizens of St. Augustine, appeared before him, and demanded liberty on the strength of royal cedulas. He decreed that their appeal be granted. The decision to grant freedom to the slaves was not an easy one to make, for it was made over the violent protests of slave owners.

Inasmuch as the newly liberated freedmen had no place to live nor any adequate means of livelihood, Governor Montiano set aside a special area as a settlement for them on the northern outskirts of St. Augustine. During the Spanish rule, this settlement was known as Garcia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose; however, under British rule after 1763, it was known simply as "Moosa" or Moosa Village. This place no doubt became the first free Negro settlement in what is now called the United States. To aid this settlement in its growth and development, Governor Montiano provided both spiritual and economic assistance. In late 1738, he secured the services of a priest, Reverend Joseph de Leon, to instruct the settlement of thirty-eight families in the Catholic doctrine and in good customs. Furthermore, he supplied the colony with food and supplies until they harvested their crops. When the settlement was in danger of being overrun by the English in 1740, Governor Montiano withdrew the Negroes from "Moosa" and reestablished them in St. Augustine for their own protection. After the threat passed, the Negroes were returned to "Moosa", and another public announcement was made stating that all other fugitives arriving at the settlement would be freed. Over the years, "Moosa" received a high degree of independence."

THE NORTHEAST-MIDWEST HEARING ON PLANT CLOSINGS

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring to the attention of my colleagues an important hearing held earlier this week by the Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition. The hearing, entitled "Forum on Worker Dislocation in the Automotive Industry," provided an opportunity to closely examine the devas-

tating impact of auto plant closings on communities.

Recently, the Chrysler Corp. announced that it plans to close its stamping and assembly operations in Kenosha, WI, by the end of the 1988 model year. If Chrysler goes ahead with its proposed shutdown, 5,500 workers will lose their jobs.

At Tuesday's hearing, two labor representatives from Kenosha testified on the impact of this decision on Chrysler's workers, their families, and the entire community. The two witnesses were Ed Steagall, president, UAW Local 72 in Kenosha, and Roger Bybee, editor, the Racine Labor, Racine.

I want to thank Ed and Roger for helping to focus national attention on what Chrysler has done to the city of Kenosha. Their testimony follows, along with a statement I submitted at the hearing:

**TESTIMONY OF ED STEAGALL, PRESIDENT,
UAW LOCAL 72, KENOSHA, WI**

In 1973 I attended a UAW School for Workers and at that seminar it was stated that the United States auto makers and United States Steel would have to do something for the future. At that time President Leonard Woodcock of the UAW told Washington, D.C. that the American auto and steel industries would be having a huge problem and they would have to take action now. Washington has not responded, and we now have to fix a two-decade-old problem.

What can be done for Americans, for the American work force, because imports continue to bombard our shorelines? My membership is being put out of work because American companies are allowed to invest profits made in America into the economies of other countries, where they can take unfair advantage of cheap labor, no benefits and sub-standard working conditions. Legislation has to be passed that makes U.S. companies like Chrysler, which has been profitable, invest in the American companies so they remain modern, efficient and will produce job security to the American worker.

Chrysler has a new engine operation in Mexico, while Kenosha, after 89 years of service, are being told they will no longer be employed by Chrysler. This is not fair when you look where Chrysler's private profits originated. To invest in Mexican markets is a crime. Why didn't Chrysler invest into an established work force in Kenosha which produces the best quality vehicle in the Chrysler family? Why is Chrysler allowed to invest in Red China as published 2-17-88 Chrysler Motor Times. (See exhibit No. 1.)

Americans should have received that work. A new V10 is being developed at this time by Chrysler and that work is going to be placed in Mexico. That is wrong, when the Kenosha work force is being terminated! Please help us, not just union members, but for every job that is directly affected by a layoff in the plant, one job from the community is also lost! Our population in Kenosha is approximately 80,000 people. Sixty-five percent of those laid off live in Kenosha so multiply 14.2 for the average family X every worker affected, equals 27,300 directly affected and probably another 27,300 from the community. (See exhibit No. 2.)

This is devastating to our state's economy when people have to use Unemployment Compensation and welfare while trying to get replacement jobs or retraining. People will lose their homes, cars and children's educations and all that has been saved from

prior years of employment. The single worker will not receive half as much because social programs are directed to family services. (See exhibit No. 3.)

Our law enforcement agencies are already concerned about economic depression where families will be broken up and more severe discipline will have to be enforced in our community. Please think of the single individual so that programs and monies become available to them where their families do not have to suffer because of economic crisis at home and so the law will not have to be broken in order to provide shelter and food for their children's table.

Our plant has been making money for the Chrysler Corporation but because of economic injustices between countries, Chrysler chooses to develop new products for China, Mexico, slave labor countries and other non-American countries. Legislation has to be passed that will protect our shores from imports. Legislation must punish American businesses that do not treat their employees with dignity and respect and fail to provide long-term security to the workers and their families.

It is wrong to open up new plants with new partners and dislocate workers who have long-term service with the company. Therefore, I am asking that this Congressional body develop the means to force Chrysler Corporation to become a responsible American company and protect our jobs in Kenosha, or face the consequences, which could cause them to lose crucial government contracts.

**TESTIMONY OF ROGER BYBEE, EDITOR, THE
RACINE LABOR, RACINE, WI**

I am Roger Bybee, Editor of The Racine Labor Newspaper in Racine, Wisconsin. I want to thank Congressman Aspin and the Northeast-Midwest Coalition for inviting me to testify on some issues of burning importance.

When Chrysler announced on January 27 that it planned to close its Kenosha operations, the company was simply removing a pin from its map of corporate facilities. For Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca, he was simply shutting down a plant for the 31st time.

But for the People of Kenosha, Racine, and other communities in southeastern Wisconsin and Northern Illinois, the announcement came as a shattering blow to their lives and their dreams. Chrysler's announcement came as the social equivalent of an atomic bomb, whose "radioactivity" can be measured in unrealized hopes, in lives wasted in despair, alcohol and drug abuse, family violence, in homes that are foreclosed, cars that are repossessed and in huge numbers of people forced to rely on public assistance. The mushroom cloud of social devastation will reach far beyond the 5,500 families directly affected by one of the largest plant closings in recent years: Its effects will be felt also by workers at local parts suppliers, the owners of small businesses whose customers draw their livelihoods from Chrysler, and area taxpayers who will be forced to pick up the pieces of lives shattered by Chrysler's decision.

The plan by Chrysler to end auto production in Kenosha represented a sudden repudiation of previous and extensive promises made by Chrysler with the express purpose of eliciting major concessions from the union, city, county and state. In both oral and written pledges, such as the June 26, 1987 letter from Chrysler to the city of Kenosha, the company committed itself to

maintaining auto production for 3 to 5 years. Many hundreds of families made critical decisions based on these pledges: Workers quit jobs at other plants to return to Chrysler; their families bought homes, and incurred other debts. Moreover, the workers responded to Chrysler's promise of job security by setting several records for quality production.

Chrysler officials may argue that no formal contract exists which requires them to maintain production in Kenosha. But they should be reminded that their fast statements were not mere "projections" or "predictions" that were uncontrollably determined by changes in the market; those statements were pledges aimed at gaining concessions from other parties. The union, the state, and local governments kept their word, but Chrysler has not. As one observer noted, the Chrysler warranty on the deal has expired in 7 months, instead of 5 years. Perhaps that means that someone has doctored the odometer reading on the deal.

Chrysler's plan to shut down its Kenosha operation (with the exception of its engine line) leaves an enormous crater that local and state government resources cannot possibly fill. The shutdown will mean a loss of about \$171 million in wages, for which there are no foreseeable substitutes. Retail development along I-94 and Highway 50, and marina-related development in both Racine and Kenosha are touted by some who believe that the area can rebound. But we should remember that retail and service development is based on a foundation of consumer buying power created by goods production, and that foundation for southeastern Wisconsin is being swept away with little warning and less concern for the victims. When unemployment in Kenosha surges up toward 15, 18, 20 percent, how much retail investment will the area attract?

What we're seeing here is that the impact of a plant shutdown not only causes widespread devastation, but also removes an area's capacity to respond. For example, the shutdown will cost some \$10 million in lost state tax revenues, which means fewer resources to pay for training, for alcohol and drug abuse clinics, shelters for battered women and children and other needs that are the social costs of decisions made unilaterally in Chrysler's boardroom.

Local government agencies are responding as rapidly as they can to prepare for the consequences of the Chrysler shutdown. In both Kenosha and Racine, where 1,277 of the affected workers live, task forces have been set up by the county executives to assess the impacts of the shutdown. The effects will be deep and varied: Along with huge increases expected in AFDC and general assistance programs, there will also be increased demands for a wide array of other services. (One surprising example is an increased need for the services of the local game warden, because people will have less money to spend for hunting and fishing licenses, and because desperate dislocated workers will attempt to supplement their families food supply by poaching.) To confront the multifaceted impacts of the shutdown, the task force in Racine is working in subcommittees to develop impact statements and plans in each of several areas: Health and Human Services, which covers family violence, the needs of uninsured families, counseling, etc; economic development efforts, which involve retaining existing firms and recruiting new businesses; two sub-groups, one focusing specifically on

UAW Local members and one on the other dislocated workers hit by the shutdown; and a government liaison committee to coordinate activities between different levels of government. In addition, the State Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations has outlined a series of steps to assist in expedited registration for and distribution of unemployment compensation benefits, better linkages of jobless workers to existing job openings, the establishment of effective new job-search groups for laid-off workers, and other moves designed to soften the impact of the shutdown's impact on southeastern Wisconsin.

While I have been impressed with the alertness and sincerity of public officials in responding to this crisis, we must remember that these efforts are swimming against the tide of Administration policy. The social safety net in the U.S., always the flimsiest of any advanced democracy, has been further shredded in recent years. For example, only 28 percent of the jobless now receive unemployment compensation, compared with 67 percent during the 1974-75 recession. Similarly, the federal Job Training Partnership Act, the main training program, provides no income supplements to support dislocated workers and their families while they attempt to make a transition to a new field of work.

Now, some hopes have been raised by Chrysler's announcement that it would be willing to contribute its 1988 profits from Wisconsin to a trust fund for the victims of its shutdown in Kenosha. Apparently, there has been much more excitement about the plan the further the distance from southeastern Wisconsin. As UAW Local 72 members immediately pointed out, the trust fund plan is tied directly to Chrysler sales which have been hit disastrously by the public outrage to Chrysler's planned shutdown. The workers tend to see the proposal as a public relations gesture in another sense; as Local 72 Chairman Rudy Kuzel put it, the plan is like a bank robber tossing a few dollars from his saddlebags as he high-tails it out of town, so that the posse stops chasing and starts fighting among itself over the few dollars. I think that the plan needs to be looked at critically for two other reasons: First, it is a mere drop in the bucket in comparison to the scale of human need. Weighed against the \$171 million loss of wages, the \$20 million generated by the trust fund (if Chrysler sales were to return to past levels) would barely scratch the surface. Let me also suggest measuring the \$20 million another way; Lee Iacocca suggested the trust fund as a means of helping to provide for the needs of 5,500 families. That sounds like a generous offer, until you consider that Lee Iacocca brought home \$20.5 million for his own family in 1986.

Given these realities the workers and communities of southeastern Wisconsin feel that there is no alternative but to resist the shutdown every step of the way. To do otherwise is to welcome an economic and social holocaust for the area.

By way of conclusion, I want to stress that the only means of preventing social devastation across our nation's industrial cities is to fundamentally change the rules of the game. Presently, corporations like Chrysler are free to move capital around and close profitable plants at will, engaging in a callous form of human strip-mining leaving supposedly used-up workers and discarded communities on a giant slag-heap. Major corporations are able to pit community against community, like Kenosha against

Detroit, drawing public resources from already-squeezed declining communities to subsidize private profit, while playing off American communities against each other, investments outside our borders. Chrysler, for example, now has five plants in Mexico, where it can take advantage of low wages (\$1 an hour or less) and favorable trade rules to export more than \$1.2 billion worth of goods back to the U.S.

We must radically alter the rules of the game, because we face not only a continuing de-industrialization, but also a de-democratization as corporations increasingly dictate terms to local governments and act without any accountability to the democratic will of the public.

TESTIMONY OF CONGRESSMAN LES ASPIN

I want to express my thanks to Congressman Kildee, Congresswoman Johnson, and to the Northeast-Midwest Coalition for inviting me to participate in today's important hearing. Over the past decade, communities across the Northeast and Midwest have been devastated by major plant closings. I welcome the opportunity to study this tragic problem in depth, to explore the impact of these closings on communities, how communities have reacted and rebounded, and how the federal government can play an increased role in providing assistance to dislocated workers and their families.

On January 27 of this year, the Chrysler Corporation announced that it would be closing its stamping and assembly operations in Kenosha, Wisconsin, by the end of the 1988 model year. While 1000 workers will remain at the plant to build Chrysler engines, 5,500 will lose their jobs. Kenosha has lived with an auto plant longer than any other community in the nation. The Kenosha plant was first opened in 1902. The impact of this announcement on the Kenosha community, and on the entire state of Wisconsin, has been profound.

The City of Kenosha is now facing its greatest challenge, to carry its residents through the difficult period of adjustment which lies ahead, to find jobs for its displaced auto workers, and to diversify and expand its economy. The strain on city services, ranging from job training programs to drug and alcohol abuse counseling, will be enormous.

Kenosha and the State of Wisconsin have reacted swiftly to Chrysler's announcement. Kenosha County Executive John Collins and Kenosha Mayor Eugene Dorff have taken the lead in coordinating the city's response to the shutdown. Three task forces, focusing on aid for dislocated workers, community health and social services, and economic development, are being established. Area colleges, including Gateway Technical College, Carthage College, and the University of Wisconsin-Parkside, are developing programs to educate and retrain displaced workers. The State is also planning programs to assist workers and to spur economic growth in Kenosha County.

As local and state officials continue to formulate a recovery strategy for southeastern Wisconsin, now is an opportune time to push the federal government to play a key role in providing assistance to the community. There is a growing consensus in Congress that the Reagan Administration has not played a sufficient role in helping workers and communities adjust to major layoffs and plant closings. The federal government can and must do more to assist these communities. It must provide increased funding

for worker retraining programs and economic development. And it must encourage states and communities to respond quickly to a plant shutdown so that workers and their families can readjust as soon as possible to a new way of life.

The federal government runs two major programs designed to aid dislocated workers, the Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) program and Title III of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Both programs would be expanded and improved under various provisions of the omnibus trade bill, which is now in a House-Senate conference committee. As Kenosha and other cities across the country struggle with the consequences of mass layoffs, now is the time to make positive changes in these critical programs.

The Trade Adjustment Assistance program provides aid to workers who lose their jobs due to imports. Workers become eligible for TAA after the Department of Labor certifies that their employer has been hurt by foreign competition. Under the program, workers receive up to 52 weeks of cash assistance, called a Trade Readjustment Allowance (TRA), when their unemployment compensation (UC) runs out. The payment is roughly equal to a UC check. TRA has been a big help to many eligible workers in southeastern Wisconsin.

Once workers become eligible for TRA, they can apply for job training assistance through the state job service office. Unlike TRA, which eligible workers automatically receive, training funds are awarded on a cash-available basis. In recent years, the well has run dry and workers enrolled in qualified training programs have been denied funds. Both the House and Senate trade bills include provisions to provide all workers eligible for TAA up to \$4000 for remedial education and retraining programs. The training portion of the program essentially would be made into an entitlement. This is an excellent improvement that would guarantee that workers receive job training funds.

The House trade bill also includes an important provision aimed at helping displaced workers who find new employment at a lower wage. This section would provide a supplemental wage allowance to raise the worker's current pay up to 80 percent of the previous wage.

Another proposal in the House bill would require state agencies to provide full information to workers about the TAA program at the time they file for unemployment compensation. This would help to eliminate the considerable confusion about the availability of the program and deadlines for filing petitions with the Department of Labor.

The Senate bill includes a provision that would extend TAA coverage to workers in parts and supplies industries, a subject which will be discussed at greater length at today's hearing. This proposal would bring a deserving group of workers that have been neglected in the past under the TAA program.

The House and Senate must work out differences in the TAA provisions of the trade bill. Some are technical and others are more serious. The most controversial issue concerns how the expanded program will be funded. Despite differences, however, the two sides are pretty close together. There is a clear consensus that this program needs adjustment and improvement.

Apart from the TAA improvements, the omnibus trade bill would create a new \$980

million worker readjustment program under Title III of the Job Training Partnership Act. Title III of JTPA provides funds for job retraining programs to the states and localities. Programs are coordinated by local private industry councils (PICs). Workers covered under Title III do not have to show that their displacement is a result of foreign competition.

The new worker aid program would grant increased funds for job training, education, job search assistance, and counseling. The federal government currently provides about \$200 million annually for the Title III budget, so the new proposal represents a significant expansion. Both the House and Senate bills include similar versions of the worker aid plan, but there are differences in how funding would be disbursed to the states.

The House worker readjustment program would authorize several new programs to provide increased funding for vocational education, and for research and development at colleges and universities. To help enhance the overall competitiveness of the American workforce, additional programs would be undertaken to combat illiteracy and encourage the teaching of foreign languages.

Included in the House worker aid program is an important proposal that would require states to respond rapidly to the announcement of a major layoff or plant closing. While past experience indicates that a quick and coordinated response to a plant closing can be extremely beneficial, it is clear that current programs do not reflect this fact. According to the Education and Labor Committee report on the trade bill, "There is considerable evidence that one of the most serious defects in the current dislocated worker program under Title III is the absence in most States of a rapid governmental response mechanism, even when an employer provides advance notice of a mass layoff or closing."

To address this problem, the House trade bill would require each of the states to establish a dislocated worker unit (DWU). The DWU would be required to provide immediate assistance to labor and management following announcement of a major layoff or plant closing. The DWU would help set up a joint labor-management committee which would be chaired by a neutral third party. The committee would be another resource communities could use to help oversee and coordinate the provision of job training and counseling services for the workers.

The rapid response approach is patterned after Canada's Industrial Adjustment Service, a program that is widely admired by labor specialists. Over the past year, the Department of Labor has helped to set up demonstration projects in six states: New York, New Jersey, Vermont, Ohio, Michigan, and Iowa. Several states have decided to pattern their dislocated worker programs after the Canadian model. The House trade bill would institutionalize this approach by establishing guidelines for the states to follow in setting up the DWUs. The Department of Labor would be required to provide state labor specialists with training in rapid response methods.

In its fiscal year 1989 budget, the Administration proposes to combine the TAA and Title III programs into a single Worker Readjustment Program (WRAP). The budget proposal states that, "These separate . . . programs have not operated efficiently." The Administration is correct in pointing

out that the programs have had their share of problems. And the WRAP proposal is virtually the same as the House and Senate worker aid programs. But consolidating the two existing programs is not the answer. Both TAA and JTPA Title III provide needed and separate services to dislocated workers.

The two programs do need to be expanded and improved, and both the House and Senate trade bills are on the right track. I would urge the conferees on the trade bill to act on the consensus that has clearly emerged on this issue. All of the above changes, including guaranteed training funds, supplemental wage allowances, and rapid intervention, would be of significant help to the city of Kenosha and to communities across the country that are and will be facing the tragedy of a major plant closing.

For a community to rebound from a major layoff, the initiative and drive must begin at the local level. The federal government, however, can play a significant role. It must reach out to distressed communities and act as a partner in the recovery process.

ADM. JAMES STOCKDALE: A SPEECH IN PEORIA

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, February 13, 1988, Adm. James Bond Stockdale, recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor, spoke to the members of the Peoria Bar Association. What he said that evening, a mixture of scholarly learning about the past and personal experience in combat and as a prisoner of the Communist Vietnamese, should be read by all of our colleagues. At this point I wish to insert his speech in the RECORD:

LINCOLN MEMORIAL BANQUET—PEORIA COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION

(Speech by James Bond Stockdale)

In a nutshell, the explanation of my being here—with medals and all—can be simplified with one specific link. This link is tied to an instant of time: 3 PM, Sunday, September 13th, 1964, in Abingdon, Illinois. At that point, 24 years ago, I was getting out of a limousine in front of the Methodist church in Abingdon, with my wife, Sybil and my mother, Mabel, to attend the funeral of my father. I was wearing a Navy Commander's uniform, the only clothes I had with me, having flown back from the Western Pacific a few days before in response to a warning cable from Sybil. She had passed along to me the bad news that my father was not expected to live more than a week. I had barely arrived to be with him when he died, now at the church all events and all people important to our family seemed to be converging on that instant. On opening the car door, the first person I saw was Opal Baymiller, mother of Carroll, grandmother of David Radley, grandmother of Jim Baymiller who had driven her over from Peoria, great grandmother of Air Force Academy cadet Laura Radley who is sitting right in front of me, and lifelong friend of both my parents, classmate from first grade on, of my mother.

So I think that about says it—except to add that I had even more on my mind than

this great confluence of family events. Those of you who have read Sybil's and my book, *In Love and War* now know that a few days before I had left that Western Pacific, I had been tangled up in a series of events that were to change our world. (Historian Barbara Tuchman in her latest, *The March of Folly* has written that these historic events I mention will eventually be seen, in the broad scope of American history, as "no less significant" than the firing on Fort Sumter.) Of course what I am talking about goes by the name of The Tonkin Gulf Affair. Actually, there were four Tonkin Gulf events spread over four days and involved one surface battle and three air actions, all of which I had led as the commanding officer of U.S. Navy Fighter Squadron Fifty-One. And I got out of that limousine—indeed left town soon after the funeral ceremony to return to that Western Pacific, as undoubtedly the only man in Illinois who knew for sure that the Vietnam War was already upon us, and certainly the only one who knew for sure that it had been triggered under false pretenses.

Yes, I knew the war was unavoidable, when news accounts were merely speculative, not because I had been reading secret messages (I had read them, but they were as speculative as the news accounts), but because I had had one of those flashes of insight that come to those who see, first hand, history turn a corner. (After it happens to you, it's hard to get the higher-ups to believe you; they're cautiously sticking to the party line, or more accurately perhaps, the line of those who rely on only the written word for information on distant events. The gap between what a written message conveys to its recipient, and what the sights and sounds and facial expressions on a battlefield convey to the person who is there, has caused the world all manner of surprise and later grief—and we can expect even more surprise and grief in the future as absolute Washington control, fueled by written word communication, becomes de rigueur.) So also does the man on the street frequently miss the true flavor of live happenings. Dispassionate accounts of less than cataclysmic far away events, accurately written in the Washington Post or New York Times, can give the reader a general idea of the risk of their being triggers for irreversible chains of events. But to be going down Main Street at treetop level in a North Vietnamese city of 44,000 people on a sultry peacetime noon hour and see "right out there", 28,000 pounds of TNT suddenly rip open and wipe out an oil tank farm, black smoke and red flames billowing up past ten thousand feet, people suddenly awakened, piling out of nearby buildings and into the street, gives one a more precise bit of information: In this case, that "there will be repercussions". [That old World War I recruiting slogan flashed through my mind: "Don't just read history, make it."] As I wrote in our book:

"In that split second, a great truth was revealed to me. America had just been locked into the Vietnam War. No question about it; as of right now all other options are now closed."

Great truths are sometimes available only at the eye of the storm. Professor John Keegan, British military historian and long time lecturer at Sandhurst, in his recent book *The Mask of Command* does justice to both our Abraham Lincoln and our other Illinois giant of the 19th Century—not Stephen Douglas, but (if you ask me) the real "Little Giant," Ulysses Simpson Grant. For

Grant, like Lincoln of course, grew and gained wisdom, as well as commitment and momentum as the Civil War went on. Grant became Grant, according to Keegan, only in his third major battle, in April '62 at Shiloh, just after his self-made career had yielded his self-made victories at the Tennessee forts of Henry and Donelson. It was there at Shiloh, in the midst of that two day battle that by all odds he should have lost but didn't, that he learned what those early battles, still almost seeming like a mish mash of accidental events based on a misunderstanding, truly portended. There at Shiloh, Grant on the ground, looking at the eyeballs of an inspired enemy, thru a gunsight so to speak, received a revelation that changed his views on the whole war. Those young Confederate infantrymen were not dupes of demagogues, but crusaders for their cause. Not fighting from bravado, but from conviction. (Reading from *The Mask of Command*):

"From that time onwards, Grant knew that Americans were two peoples and could be made one only by the total defeat of the minority by the majority. It was the decision that the war must be made total."

In an instant, Grant grasped what others had missed, that what he was in the midst of was an ideological war, the very worst kind.

I expect some of you have been to the completely refurbished Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C. Sybil and I have been there a couple of times in the last few months. Both times I have found myself looking around the lobby trying to imagine how it would have been to be an onlooker, to see a particular early 1864 scene there,—and its sequel at the White House two blocks away the next morning. These are scenes Fletcher Pratt paints in his book *Ordeal by Fire*:

"Willard's Hotel for Gentlemen and Ladies swarmed with officers in March, 1864, most of them in full dress and all of them in full importance. The raining provost of the Army of Louisiana, who had experienced the rigors of a hard campaign at the bar of the Palmetto House in New Orleans, was expounding military strategy to an audience of newspaper men. Richard Dana, whose two years before the mast had given him a low opinion of barfly officers, looked in time to see a short, round-shouldered, seedy-looking man come through the door, leading a boy by the hand. The eye was drawn by the fellow's peculiar gait, a lurching heave, as though the next step would bring him down on his nose—and then Mr. Dana gulped at the sight of two stars on his shoulder-straps. He jumped up, but others had made the discovery before him and the whole lobby hummed with "Grant—Grant" . . . (The old guy from the West, the warrior they had heard about with unprecedented victories at Vicksburg, and most recently at Chattanooga—and he was then, [I have to remind myself], younger than I was when I was shot down . . . 42. I was 50 by the time my battles were over, Grant was 43.) . . . The squat man, as oblivious of the crowd's disapproval as he had been of its indifference, signed the register and still towing his son, pitched along to his room. . . . The next morning he was closeted with Lincoln. Lincoln had been willing to give a military specialist a free hand at any time, but had been unable to discern the requisite signs of ability in any of his generals. With very good reason he felt himself as able a military man as McClellan or Pope or Halleck or even Hooker."

I got a better idea of Lincoln's feeling on this from scanning a two-volume series called "The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln", which I found in the Stanford library. It's his official papers in chronological order, and the year 1862 is full of two or three line personal telegrams General McClellan. (Very early on, Lincoln had concluded that his famous General McClellan had what he called "The Slows.") Samples of messages to McClellan: "What's the news from the front?" Then later: "What news from Manassas Junction? What generally?" Then: "My Dear Sir: You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing?" Next: "How does it look now?" Then: I have just read your dispatch about sore-tongued and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?" Again: "The enemy is recrossing the Potomac. Please do not let him get off without being hurt." And so on. Of course we've all enjoyed Lincoln's most famous quotation about McClellan: "It is called the Army of the Potomac but it is only McClellan's bodyguard. If McClellan is not using the army, I should like to borrow it for a while."

Back to Fletcher Pratt's account:

"Seated there with Grant the first time, Lincoln sensed that all that was behind him now. In just half an hour's conference he saw how differently from the others, Grant's mind functioned. Lincoln suggested a plan of campaign. Grant grunted, and without even commenting on it, offered an alternative scheme for war that went beyond Lincoln's imagination. The President relaxed with a sigh of gratitude and never interfered again. So Grant went down into Virginia, prepared to treat time and ground as expendable material. And behind him, William Tecumseh Sherman, the sword of the republic, the giant of the West, was set free at last with 100,000 men at his back and Atlanta for his goal."

As Lincoln saw Grant off at the White House steps, he said: "I don't understand these military technicalities, but as near as I can make out, you propose to hold the leg while Sherman takes off the hide." Next day, Lincoln promoted Grant to Lieutenant General (three stars) and made him Commander of all the Union Armies. By mutual agreement, Grant never thereafter briefed the President on his future strategies.

They were a real pair, and I love to read about them together, as you can tell. So much for my introductory remarks.

There would seem to me to be only one formula appropriate for a person like me giving the talk at *The Lincoln Memorial Banquet* of the Peoria County Bar Association: to honor the great man; to tie him to Peoria; to tie me to the Peoria area, and to him; and to relate Lincoln's example to my experiences, my life.

To do that, I've read new books and re-read old ones; I've gained insights into Lincoln's character that I never had before; and I've generated a tremendous urge to just burst forth and recite!

But now, the Peoria scene overcomes me. I hear and read about the quantity and depth of Lincoln scholarship, completed and taking place, in Illinois Historical circles. (Did you see that article in the New York Times this week about the compilation of some newly released material into what is called the "Lincoln Legals"—a summariza-

tion of his legal philosophy and practice based on 75,000 new documents?) And now I look at this audience of three hundred Illinois lawyers and judges, and realize that some of you are participants in such in-depth studies of Lincoln's life. And I come to realize that I have to discipline myself, and face the fact that I have a lot in common with that old Pennsylvania gentleman (about my grandfather's vintage) who died and went to heaven early in this century.

On arrival in heaven, this old gentleman could hardly contain himself. He was of course tremendously relieved not to have been condemned to "the other place" and delighted to see so many of his old friends from years past there in heaven with him. He had so much to tell them about what had been happening on earth! He too, wanted to just burst forth and recite! Saint Peter was showing him around when they spotted a crowd of heaven dwellers sitting around in a circle listening to one of their number speak. "What's going on there?", the old man asked Saint Peter. "Oh, it's just a group interested in natural history", replied the Saint. "They get together every day and regale one other with tales of momentous physical phenomena they had observed while on earth."

"Oh please let me join them today", the old Pennsylvania fellow said pleadingly. "I was an eye witness to the recent Johnstown flood; it was the most fantastic earthly event I ever saw in my life, and I'm so anxious to tell every body about it". "Very well", said Peter reluctantly. "But don't forget, Noah will be in the audience."

Already I know how detailed, how structured, and how precise that Lincoln scholarship of you Noah's in the audience can be. I have a Lincoln-scholar friend at Stanford. Historian Don Fehrenbacher has written much about him, and his book *Prelude to Greatness: (Lincoln in the 1850's)* is to some the bible on Lincoln's Illinois connection. Don and I had lunch in my preparation for this trip. He has chapters assessing all Lincoln's major speeches of that decade. Many speeches are broken down into subject matter categories, with listings of percentages of the total speech devoted to each category. For instance, the "House Divided" speech (as Lincoln's Senatorial Candidacy acceptance speech to the Illinois Republican Party Convention in Springfield in the summer of 1858 is known "in the trade"), has three parts. The "house divided" section of the "house divided speech", I learned, constitutes only 7% of the whole. Something called the "conspiracy" section takes up 72%, and the "living dog" section, (whatever that may be), the remaining 21%.

After taking that in, I read the book *Abraham Lincoln in Peoria Illinois*, by B. C. Bryner (303 pages, printed privately in Peoria in 1924). In it are two complete versions of the Lincoln's famous Peoria speech of October 16th, 1854. One version was as taken down during the speech by the Peoria Transcript reporter and published in the paper the next morning. The other was a version Lincoln had spent three days doctoring in Springfield, after the fact. I can find the good parts in both versions, but the second version has twice as many words as the first. So I ask myself: How does all this scholarship by mathematical analysis and percentage breakdown work out in what I think surely must be the common case—several versions of each speech, each of a different length?

But not to quibble. I'm just reinforcing the idea that I am by no means qualified to pass certain boundaries in Lincoln scholarship, and am obliged to stay only within those areas in which I claim special interest or personal knowledge. The Fehrenbacher book has a good discussion on "why Lincoln?", that is to say, "what forces of fate thrust him into the national limelight in this key decade between the years 1850 and 1860?" One factor was of course Lincoln's good luck, or good sense, or both, to become the toe to toe, evenly matched sparring partner (debating opponent) of the Great Illinois orator and national figure, Senator Stephen Douglas. A second factor was the fact that Illinois could be seen as the pivotal State in the Union during the decade of the gathering storm. It was in a sense a microcosm of the Union, polarized by pro and anti-slavery sentiments, and centrally located. (At the debate in Galesburg on October 7th, 1858, Douglas chided Lincoln for having "two speeches", one to be given in southern Illinois, another in northern.)

Illinois in the 1850's was bursting forth into national prominence in productivity and population. Corn production doubled, wheat production trebled; the state became in those ten years, by a wide margin, the grain-raising leader of the nation. Industrialization proceeded apace, and by 1860, half of those employed were engaged in pursuits other than farming. Fehrenbacher describes the Illinois of those years as a state of "mills, factories, and magnificent farms." In that decade its population doubled (three times the increase of the nation as a whole). It went from 12th to 4th largest state in the Union, moreover, most of his growth occurred in the northern half of the state, where communities were newer, more progressive, and where, of course, antislavery strength resided.

It was in that decade of the '50's that all four of my grandparents first showed up in Illinois. The youngest of them, my father's mother, was born in Abingdon in 1853. The other three arrived during that decade as children of westward-moving families. My father's father from Pennsylvania, my mother's father, from Ohio. My mother's father was eight when the wagon stopped in Abingdon in 1852. Today, Sybil and I own the farm he and his bride took over on their wedding day. That bride was 18 then, but years later she, my grandmother Bond, used to tell me of her memories of holding her father's hand while they stood on the Knox campus and heard the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Galesburg on that October 7th of 1858. Kids went to things like that; Illinois was a political cauldron and political speeches were festivals, mass entertainments, family affairs. Lincoln and "Long John" Wentworth, while waiting to address a crowd at the little town of Oregon (two thousand people, just north of Dixon), amused themselves by counting the number of mothers in the crowd who were nursing babies while they stood there and waited for the speeches to start. They agreed on the count: 70 nursing mothers.

I am a proud son of this prairie, and grandson of that lusty generation of the 1850's who had a lot to say about how it all worked out when the Republic was at the crossroads. And in a way, I think of myself, like you, as a special heir to the Abraham Lincoln legacy.

I want to close by explaining how a couple of Lincoln's seminal ideas rang true to my life. I pick them both out of the Peoria speech of '54—but of course all of his good ideas can be traced to that October night.

First there was his plea to free yourself from feeling the obligation to accept stereotypical mindsets—to meekly go along with the idea that a person's opinions should conform to some rigid structure, fit into some shoe box or pigeon hole which conventional wisdom judged to be consistent, fitting and proper—and judged you to be way out of line if you ever dared stray from those confines. I mean in 1854 there was a widespread stereotypical idea of what ideas in this world were appropriate for an opponent of slavery, and what for an advocate. So today, is conventional wisdom a ready reference for what ideas are "typical lawyer" ideas and prejudices. Certainly we hear people talk about "typical military" ideas and prejudices. Because of course, we all have "military minds". What Lincoln said in Peoria is that anybody in any profession is free to, in fact advised to, pick and choose ideas and prejudices that pass the chooser's tests of right versus wrong rather than those generally thought to be coming to his station, his profession, his causes in life.

"Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong. Stand with the abolitionist in restoring the Missouri Compromise, and stand against him when he attempts to repeal the fugitive-slave law. In the latter case you stand with the Southern disunionist. What of that? You are still right."

American politics today are bandwagon politics. You buy your party's or candidate's whole package, or be accused of betrayal. Everybody is on a conveyor belt with a label glued to his brow. Hawks are to be hawks and doves to be doves throughout, period. Lincoln hated this insult to a person's intelligence, a person's right to think. It was certainly hard to stereotype him. He became a war-hawk for the Union cause. Yet his career in Congress years before had been stifled because he would not back away from his vocal opposition to our Mexican War. (His distinction was straightforward; he thought one war was just and necessary, the other unjust). Grant, too, defied categorization as hawk or dove. "Grant the hawk, Grant the butcher" (as his enemies like to call him) had this to say in his *Personal Memoirs* (two wonderful volumes he completed in 1885), about that Mexican War in which he fought very well as a young officer: "For myself, I was bitterly opposed (to the annexation of Texas), and to this day regard the war, which resulted, as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation."

A lot of people think being emotionally involved in the political virtues of a war give you added zeal in fighting it—or are maybe even necessary to fighting it. I don't agree; I know too many exceptions to that. Grant was an exception. I knew another—coming from the other direction, in prison. I called him Colonel John Doe in the book. He was right wing all the way to the wall; he thought anybody who didn't believe the Vietnam War was a righteous crusade was a traitor; and did he hate communists! He hated them so much he attributed fiendish powers to them, feared them like the devil, and caved in to them whenever they put the arm on him. He was a real patsy, totally incapacitated by his political zealotry and hate, a failure as a soldier.

Grant was at the scene when the Mexican War started. Something like me in the Tonkin Gulf: "We were sent to provoke a fight, but it was essential that Mexico

should commence it. It was very doubtful whether Congress would declare war; but if Mexico should attack our troops, the Executive could announce, "Whereas, war exists by the acts of, etc."

"How can it be?", people ask me, "that you tell the world the Vietnam War was triggered by Washington under false pretenses, yet you fought the war enthusiastically and demanded allegiance of your fellow prisoners. 'So what?', I can say, 'I'm right in both cases like Lincoln suggested in Peoria'. I owe it to my country to expose sleazy dealings in sneaking the start of a war past the American people. How else to put the people on alert next time? And in the second instance, I think that in good wars or bad, soldiers have an obligation to each other to fight well and protect the integrity of their unit, their comradeship." (There are endless applications of this Lincolnian Emancipation of our minds from stereotypical imprisonment).

A second trait of Lincoln that I particularly admire was his willingness to move into taboo territory when the right rather than the wrong side of an argument resided there. From Peoria onward, he never hesitated to pan the concept of "popular sovereignty", Douglas' solution to the way to decide the slavery issue in the territories. He stood on the ground that there are issues that are too important to be on ballots.

It takes a strong man, and one who has confidence in his cleverness and sense of humor to hold that position, the position that democracy has limits of applicability, in the face of you-know-what kinds of ridicule it invites. But Lincoln bit this bullet because he knew human nature (said in Peoria that you "cannot repeat it"), and had the insight to know that sometimes symbolic battles have to be fought to forestall real ones. (That Kansas-Nebraska act battle was in its essence a symbolic battle. There was not much chance of people in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska voting in slavery). But Lincoln had learned what we all learn under pressure, that sometimes symbolic battles must be fought before real battles can start. But Lincoln knew that American history would turn a bad corner if slavery became accepted in the public mind as just a matter of voter preference. He worried about principles.

Lincoln elevated his arguments above simple reason. Human nature is not "reasonable", and he took that into account. And as you know, in the war he showed an understanding of the fact that solving the human predicament sometimes requires the leader to move beyond not only reason but maybe beyond law. There are, I think, rare circumstances in the course of human events when sometimes the saving of lives, sometimes the support of the just, require a leader with the courage and judgement to take the law into his own hands (and of course stand accountable to his countrymen afterward). Lincoln lived in such a world, and because I did too, I especially identify with him.

Article I, Section 9, of the Constitution says, "The Privilege, of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it." In 1861, in spite of a ruling by the Chief Justice that the safeguards of habeas corpus could be set aside only with the authorization of Congress, without such authorization, Lincoln, fearing that the Maryland legislature would vote to secede, arrested many of its members and

suspended the privilege of the writ. It was debatable that at that time a state of rebellion existed or danger to the public safety "required it." And certainly there was no "invasion." In his publicly stated desire to save the Union above all other considerations, he kept his eye on the moral high ground. And his moral sensibilities called in this case for such an act to keep Maryland in the Union. When we consider the morality of some acts beyond the law—acts that we do not even believe should be made legal—we recognize that no principle can be inviolable. Lincoln understood that there are circumstances in which inviolable principles kill people.

When in the Vietnam War I and the others got thrown into prison, and took stock of the circumstances, it was clear to us all that what had been touted as American law for prisoner of war behavior had almost no applicability in the circumstances in which we found ourselves.

What do you rely on in those cases? A heritage, a sense of values, common sense, and your own willingness as a leader * * * as Lincoln was the leader by a pre-crisis arrangement of election, so I was a leader by a pre-crisis arrangement of military rank * * * to realize and not kid yourself, but face the fact that what is just and what is moral cannot be achieved easily, if at all, within the constraints of what law you have. And then to act on that realization, on your own cognizance, without the protection of any "approval from on high", and make order out of chaos by your own best lights. (I had no contact with Washington authority; Lincoln had no higher authority.) When you get there, you'll know that it's time for you as the quarterback, to run the naked reverse, without protection. [Don't assume that what I said above about what had been "touted as American law for prisoners" not being right for our conditions, means that it was too stringent. It's the other way—our conditions required laws that would send the JAG corps right up the wall—what we had to order ourselves to do—what our society demanded—for integrity, for pride, for comradeship, would not be permitted under the Constitution: ordering people to take torture (certainly cruel and unusual punishment) prior to complying with certain captor demands, and so on. Talk about no habeas corpus! We threw out rights of privacy, confidentiality, freedom of speech, and on and on.] How do you sleep at night? You just live on hope that history will treat you well.

"My gosh", you say. If the world can get like this, what's to protect us from tyrants? The short answer is that you just have to hope that the man who finds himself in charge is well brought up—well enough brought up to handle it.

Over the years in the Hanoi prisons we had law, a society, customs, proprieties, traditions, heroes. We built the society ourselves; we wrote our own law. We even protected ourselves against our own tyranny.

A very small percentage of our senior officers would not conform to the rules of the prison organization and were rightly held in contempt for being too permissive vis-a-vis the communists by their juniors. More than once I received messages from junior officers that went something like this: "If I find myself in a cell block under the command of that flunk (so-and-so, by name), I will not obey his orders". This called for the promulgation of criteria for a junior's proper relief of a senior for cause, something I dubbed the "Caine Mutiny Law". It was mandatory

that all prisoners memorize all our laws, and this one was tapped through prison walls with the following wording:

"Command Authority. Any prisoner who denies or fails to carry out the code of conduct, military law, or organizational policies, may be relieved of all military authority. Emotional instability so serious as to impair judgment for a prolonged period may also be cause for relief. Relieving action on the part of the second-in-command must be based upon his senior's current performance and not on the past or heresay. It is neither American nor Christian to nag a repentant sinner to his grave."

That was used about five times over an eight year period, without a hitch, or the blemish of disrespect. You notice the "repentant sinner" provision. Odd for municipal law, but legal scholars tell me what we evolved was a blend of military law, morality, and the natural law of the Stoics. For we made a presumption that would be hard to sell these days. Like Epictetus (whose writings I did remember in that prison), we thought instinct was reliable:

"We come into this world with an innate conception as to good and bad, noble and shameful, what is becoming and what is unbecoming, what is fitting and what is inappropriate, what is right and what is wrong."

Lincoln saved the nation just because he had the perception to recognize the moral strength of Americans, and the courage to call upon them to seize and hold to that which was worthy of them: good over bad, noble over shameful, becoming over unbecoming, and right over wrong.

This medal, hanging around my neck on the blue and white ribbon, was Abraham Lincoln's idea. He initiated this award, The Congressional Medal of Honor, in 1862. You can't get it for following any order or obeying any law. Lincoln said we should recognize selfless actions that are different than, and separate from, all that. The human spirit sometimes, even unconsciously, soars to greater heights. It would be unconscionable to order men, or legally require men to fall on ticking hand grenades to save their buddies, or to catch them and hope they can throw them back into the enemy trench before they go off. It's the spirit that motivates people to do these sorts of things in spite of the odds that is described by the phrase: "above and beyond the call of duty". This medal of Lincoln's is the only American decoration in which that phrase appears in its citation. I'm proud to be one of the two hundred or so living Americans who have received this medal, and I think of Abraham Lincoln when I wear it. He of all people, knows the meaning of virtue beyond orders or law.

Thank you for allowing me to come back to Illinois to say that.

YOUTH TODAY, BEST HOPE FOR TOMORROW

HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, it is often said that the youth of today are our best hope for tomorrow. After meeting with an outstanding delegation of high school student leaders from across the Nation in December, I can proudly say that our future is in good hands and that it looks bright indeed.

These students are involved with an outstanding nonprofit, nonpartisan organization known as Direct Connection. Direct Connection is founded on the belief that the key to the survival of our world is the development of greater communication between the youth of the United States and the youth of the U.S.S.R. There are currently over 2,000 student chapters of Direct Connection across the Nation.

During the fall of 1987, a Direct Connection student delegation traveled to Moscow and conferred with representatives of various Soviet youth organizations. They also had the opportunity to meet with several Soviet officials and the United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In December, another Direct Connection delegation traveled here to Washington to meet with Soviet General Secretary and Mrs. Mikhail Gorbachev during their visit to the United States.

I also had the pleasure of meeting with this student delegation during their visit to our Nation's Capital, and I was most impressed with their grasp of the complex issues involved in United States-Soviet relations and their strong commitment to world peace. It is indeed heartening to know that our Nation's youth care so deeply about this important issue, and that they are willing to become personally involved in it.

Direct Connection has some very impressive plans for the future. Another delegation is hoping to meet with the President and Mrs. Reagan during a future trip to Washington, and the organization is completing its plans for a United States-Soviet youth conference to be held in Helsinki in the spring. During this conference they hope to discuss such issues as the reduction of nuclear weapons, drug abuse, the preservation of the environment, and plans for future exchanges.

I am impressed with the goals and accomplishments of Direct Connection, and I commend the many young people involved with this organization across the Nation for their outstanding efforts to bring about international peace through international understanding. In the hope that some of my colleagues or their constituents might be interested in learning more about this organization, I ask that a brochure Direct Connection has prepared about its Helsinki conference be reprinted here in the RECORD.

DIRECT CONNECTION 1988 HELSINKI U.S.- SOVIET YOUTH CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

President Reagan, writing to the students at Sierra Mountain High School in Grass Valley, California, who participated in the 1986 Direct Connection US-Soviet students' video exchange, said that "the actions of our citizens are as vital to our efforts for peace as those of our diplomats and soldiers. This is where our young people can truly help. As a young American, you have the opportunity to do a great deal to build peace."

General Secretary Gorbachev, at his news conference concluding the 1987 Washington summit, spoke about his meeting with the Direct Connection delegation¹ of US high

¹ The Direct Connection youth delegation at the Washington summit represented the California Association of Student Councils (CASC), the Mary-

school and college student leaders: "Just now I met a group of American students, and I had to say to them, self-critically, that both American and Soviet kids seem to come to terms together much faster than we politicians. They don't have the complexes that we have, I guess. Before we can come to terms we have to get rid of complexes and get rid of the obstacles standing in the way, and that's not all that easy at a ripe age. But they, the youngsters, they look at each other openly and they very quickly find a common tongue. And it is not something superficial, it's not a rose-colored approach—at age 15, 17, they already are giving very serious thought, not only to their personal problems, not only to what is of interest to their own selves—they are thinking about how we should live in this world. That's a remarkable phenomenon—it should be written about."

Many thousands of young people in the United States and the Soviet Union have repeatedly demonstrated their serious interest in the major issues confronting both countries, and all of humanity, at the end of the 20th Century. But they have gone beyond mere interest. The vast majority are committed to taking an active role now in shaping the public policy that will determine our collective future.

In order to assist the youth of both countries to meet, exchange ideas, and translate their vision of the future into creative, concise and credible proposals to their government leaders. Direct Connection proposes a one-week US-Soviet Youth Conference in Helsinki, Finland, before the anticipated next summit meeting in Moscow.

US and Soviet student leaders have also indicated strong support for a radical improvement in US-Soviet relations, as well as for the unprecedented 50 percent reduction in weapons of mass destruction now being negotiated in Geneva. They would like to see millions of students in the United States, in the Soviet Union and all over the world express their support for what President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev are now trying to accomplish. To this end, they propose a mass letter-writing campaign from young people to the two leaders before the Moscow summit and at the same time as their Helsinki Conference.

After their meeting with the Gorbachevs and given the support now coming from the US Congress, and in looking forward to their meeting with the President, young people know that their vision of the future—their hopes, their dreams, and their ideas—are being taken seriously by the adult leaders of today, and they are ready to continue their mission with renewed inspiration and commitment.

PROPOSAL

A delegation of approximately 40 American high school and college student leaders, representing the youth of the whole country, will meet an equivalent delegation of

land Association of Student Councils, the National Association of Student Councils, the Latino organization "Future Leaders of America," the Afro-American and Asian-American communities, the American Indian community through the Mohawk Nation of the Six Nations Confederacy, and National Forum, a student-run group that during 1987 collected 328,000 signatures from high school students nationwide, asking for a televised discussion and explanation of US nuclear policy. The delegation also included the student-body president of Princeton University, the vice-president of the Brown University student body, and representatives from Georgetown, Colgate and North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Soviet students representing the youth of the USSR, on neutral territory, in Helsinki, Finland. The US Helsinki delegation will be similar to the Direct Connection Washington summit delegation, expanded to include representatives from other youth programs and organizations such as the Senate Youth Program and Presidential Classroom.

PROCESS

US and Soviet students will spend a week together, getting to know each other, exchanging information and points of view, and developing a common position on some of the major issues, in order to then together present their final proposals and requests to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

Position papers by previously agreed-upon US and Soviet experts in the various fields will be available for background information prior to the Conference. In general, the role of adults will be that of advisors and facilitators. Since the conference is dedicated to young people creating the design for their own future, the participating students will determine the actual conference agenda themselves.

US and Soviet student delegations will meet in small study groups of up to ten students to discuss specific issues and areas of concern. These study groups will then report back to all participants in general assembly with their recommendations for proposals to be acted on by the large group as a whole.

Although the issues are complex, one of the conference objectives is for Soviet and American young people to model a process of *consensus, conflict resolution and mutual trust building* that will:

- (1) allow them to speak out credibly to the adult world on the major issues by presenting carefully worked out, focused, eloquent and straightforward proposals that emphasize a continued commitment on the part of the young people themselves and are designed for implementation at any level;
- (2) demonstrate that only hard work and real effective communication will lead to the mutual understanding that will ultimately result in world peace;
- (3) give future US and Soviet leaders an experience (through building relationships) that will influence their life perspectives, and promote fruitful future collaboration; and
- (4) establish a process for continued and future Soviet-American student leader exchange.

ISSUES

- (1) A nuclear-free world.
- (2) Education.
- (3) Political and economic concerns.
- (4) Drugs and health.
- (5) Cultural exchange.
- (6) Ecological/environmental preservation.
- (7) Youth exchange and programs designed to promote and implement new ideas on all of the above.

Major emphasis will be placed on the need to create clear communication, break through stereotypes and overcome the idea of "the enemy" through an exchange of accurate information about each other, and by identifying major areas of common and global concern. Differing US and Soviet values may be examined with a view to cultivating respect for perspectives other than one's own, which will be vital in developing a joint US-Soviet strategy for dealing with such problems as world hunger, and in gen-

eral increase awareness of global interdependence.

OUTCOMES

(A) For Conference Participants

(S=Soft, H=Hard)

- (1) (S) Young people meet each other on an intimate/deep level.
- (2) (H) Produce a number of excellent proposals.
- (3) (S) Work together collaboratively and create success.
- (4) (S) Make personal commitments for follow-up activities.
- (5) (H) Learn group life process skills.
- (6) (S) Are educated about issues.
- (7) (H) Build follow-up teams.
- (8) (H) Create long-term plans for interaction.

(B) For Government Leaders

- (1) (S) Share visions, hopes and wishes for the Summit and beyond.
- (2) (H) Ask them to endorse vision: what do they think of it?
- (3) (H) Ask them to take specific steps: what are they willing to do to help young people achieve vision?

During the last three days of the conference, the students will work to develop their joint proposals. The week will conclude with a dinner and dance for the delegations and a reception by the President of Finland and his wife. Afterwards, the now united US-Soviet youth delegation will travel to Moscow and Washington to present proposals and requests to General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan, as well as to New York to make a presentation to the Secretary General, the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations.

LETTER-WRITING CAMPAIGN AND CONCERT

While US and Soviet student leaders meet in Helsinki, DIRECT CONNECTION proposes a massive, simultaneous letter-writing campaign from millions of American and Soviet students, and students worldwide, to both President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, expressing their feelings about the arms race and their ideas for a solution and a future of US-Soviet and world cooperation, and encouraging both leaders to follow through on their 50 percent weapons reduction proposal. Discussions are now underway to explore the possibility of a joint US-Soviet rock concert to back up the young people in their appeal to the government leaders.

VISION

Young people today are fully aware that the world is in crisis. But they also believe profoundly in the ability of the individual to influence the process that will provide solutions. They believe above all in the ability of many individuals of different race, creed, nationality, sex and age to set aside self-interest and together form a force for the common good. Young people now are working hard to effect a change for the better, beginning with self, and on through family, friends, classroom, school, school system, local community, state and media to the highest levels of government and industry in the land.

As we approach the end of the second and the beginning of the third millennium, all the old issues, all the perennially recurring themes of interpersonal, international and interspecies relations, must be approached through the new thinking now revolutionizing our concept of the world and of ourselves.

At the same time, we must remember that this new thinking is deeply rooted in some of the most ancient insights of our species, insights older than civilization and common to native peoples everywhere, insights born of the wisdom of the earth and based on a true, right and natural expression of mind itself.

The nuclear age has made a radical change in our point of view imperative. Each individual must become aware of the enormous store of strength, harmony, peace and compassion within him/herself. Self-realization, in one form or another, is possible for everyone, and will result in that "turning in the seat of consciousness," the simultaneous opening of heart and mind, through which many people will be able to enter into spontaneous and natural cooperation. Cooperation is vital to mankind's survival, but equally necessary for a full flowering of our creative potential. Whether out of recognition of our actual possibilities, or out of fear of the ultimate disaster, cooperation is the key to our future. It is the only way in which we can eliminate the nuclear threat and, more than that, overcome poverty, disease and the scourge of world hunger.

Our mutual interdependence—as people, as generations, as cultures, as social, political and economic structures and, just as important, as human beings in our relationship to all other forms of life—must now become a matter of visceral recognition and awareness. The development of that awareness—the fundamental change in consciousness brought about through self-realization, the new thinking, based on ancient insights, and group consensus instead of majority rule—that is the true purpose of Direct Connection's Helsinki US-Soviet Youth Conference.

This proposal was developed by Direct Connection, in cooperation with the students and staff of the California Association of Student Councils, Michael Doyle Associates, Future Leaders of America and the Center for Living Skills.

A SALUTE TO UNITED WAY SERVICES: 75TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, today, February 25, is a special occasion for United Way Services of the Greater Cleveland area. United Way Services, a volunteer organization founded for charitable and philanthropic purposes, is celebrating 75 years of providing service to the northeast Ohio area. For this reason, I would like to join the residents of the 21st Congressional District of Ohio in saluting the organization's 75 years of committed service.

United Way Services formally began in Cleveland in 1913. Today, the organization has more than 20,000 active volunteers who not only help to raise and allocate funds for more than 170 health and human care agencies, but also work with other volunteers, including community organizations and government officials, to find solutions to human care problems.

United Way Services has a long history. Its origin can be traced back to 1900, when the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce created a

committee which endorsed worthwhile charities and provided contributors with a guide to credible welfare agencies. The Chamber of Commerce formalized an organization in 1913, which eventually would become known as United Way Services, the first organization in the country to set up a formal system to allocate funds for the needy and to study human care needs. This process, called the "citizen review process," became a model for United Way organizations nationwide.

In 1913, the organization held its first fundraising campaign with a goal of involving as many contributors as possible. More than 6,000 individuals responded and the organization's fundraising movement was underway. During World War I, United Way Services raised \$4.5 million which was distributed to more than two dozen health and human service agencies.

By 1950, nearly 130 agencies were benefiting from United Way Services' once-a-year fundraising campaigns, which raised close to \$10 million, and the American Red Cross became a financially participating agency.

In the decade of the 1960's, United Way Services began meeting the needs of adjacent counties in the Cleveland area just as the population began spreading to the suburbs. The organization officially adopted the name United Way Services in 1978, along with its current symbol—the rainbow rising from a helping hand—representing the services and programs supported by the United Way that in turn support people in the community. The image in the center, based on the universal symbol of mankind, is cradled by the helping hand, showing that all people are supported and uplifted by United Way's efforts. The rainbow springing from the helping hand represents hope for a better life through caring and sharing.

Mr. Speaker, while United Way Services has had various names and symbols over the past 75 years, it has never changed its goal of giving dedicated and committed service to the residents of the northeast Ohio area. For this reason, it is an honor to have the opportunity to commemorate United Way Services' 75th anniversary.

I am proud that Cleveland is the home of United Way and hope the organization will continue its great tradition of providing assistance to the Cleveland community.

Again, it is an honor to salute United Way Services.

THE SEMANTICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

HON. STENY H. HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, on February 4, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Richard Schifter, addressed the Conference on Human Rights and Religious Freedom, sponsored by the Giorgio Cini Foundation in Venice, Italy. Assistant Secretary Schifter headed the United States delegation to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting in 1985 where with

great conviction, distinction and unequivocation Ambassador Schifter presented the strong bipartisan commitment of the American Government and people to respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all individuals.

Mr. Speaker, at the Venice conference Assistant Secretary Schifter spoke on the worldwide appeal of certain basic human aspirations. I want to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues Mr. Schifter's remarks and urge them to read them.

THE SEMANTICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In the last few decades an international debate has raged over the various classifications of human rights. We have heard discussions of what have often been referred to as "civil and political rights," which have been either bracketed with or juxtaposed to what are called "economic, social and cultural rights." Some theoreticians in the field of human rights have also spoken of a first, second and third generation of human rights.

The first generation has generally been viewed as encompassing civil and political rights, the rights so clearly enunciated by the writers and thinkers of the Enlightenment in the 18th Century.

The second generation of human rights is generally assumed to include the aforementioned "economic social and cultural rights." In learned discussions of the subject it is said that these are the contributions of the Marxist-Leninist societies.

The third generation appears to be a concoction of issues developed during the last quarter century, including what has been referred to as the right to a clean environment, the right to die, and other relatively new matters of social concern.

Nuclear disarmament has also been injected into the debate under the rubric "right to life." (I might note that anti-abortionists who use the same term have evidently not attempted to advance their cause in the context of the international human rights debate.)

As a footnote to this introduction of the three so-called generations of rights, let me point out that the attribution of the second generation to Marxist-Leninist thinking is historically and substantively inaccurate. If you take a good look at the rights spelled out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, you will find that they fit into the program of Franklin D. Roosevelt rather than Karl Marx or Lenin. And that should not be surprising. After all, it was Eleanor Roosevelt, President Roosevelt's widow who, in her capacity as Chairman of the United Nations Human Rights Commission played a very important role in the framing and ultimate adoption of the Universal Declaration, whose text served as a basis for the framing of the Covenants.

The point I would like to make to you today, and this is the theme of my talk, is that a good many of us have fallen into a semantic trap. Rather than getting to issues of substance, we often debate *ad nauseam* the question of what does or does not constitute a human right. It is a debate which has become extraordinarily sterile.

I would suggest that we try to deal with these topics by using different terminology. The bundle of issues with which we are here concerned focuses on the relationship between government and the individual citizen. Let us divide that bundle between, on

one hand, the limits imposed upon government to safeguard the integrity and dignity of the individual and, on the other hand, the affirmative programs and policies to be conducted by government to achieve the same ends. And let us say further that the fact that we are dealing with one large bundle of relationships between government and the individual does not mean that that entire bundle must at all times be discussed jointly, nor that the same persons are qualified to discuss every single issue that comes up in this context. In my country, at least, the typical expert on the right to freedom of expression is not normally an expert on the delivery of medical care to the elderly.

Nor is there value in debating the question of which set of relationships is more important than the other. Let us simply say that all are important. The point is well illustrated by a story I heard quite a number of years ago, which, I believe, is also applicable today. It is the story of two dogs meeting at the Czechoslovak-Polish border. One dog, seeking to cross from Czechoslovakia to Poland is slightly on the fat side and well-groomed. The dog seeking to cross from Poland to Czechoslovakia is bedraggled and scraggly. The dog leaving Czechoslovakia asks the other one: "Why are you going to Czechoslovakia?" The other dog answers: "To eat," and continues: "But why are you going to Poland?" The first dog answers: "To bark."

This story is not only political commentary on comparative conditions in Czechoslovakia and Poland. It is also a profound observation about the instinctual character of the drive to express oneself. The philosophers of the Enlightenment defined that instinct. They built an ideology around it. But they did not invent the human drive for freedom. They described a phenomenon, an essential aspect of human nature.

It follows that the desire to be free, to be able to express oneself, to write as one pleases, to worship God in accordance with one's conscience or not to worship God—all these are not the inventions of Western civilization. They reflect natural human aspirations and that is indeed why an ideology based on them has worldwide appeal and, understandably, served as an underpinning for such international standard-setting instruments as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

But then there are those who argue that persons who are starving are not concerned about freedom of speech. That may very well be true. But what we of the West say is that the choice before humanity is not one of starving in freedom and eating in slavery. On the contrary, as we look around the world, we can see that freedom and prosperity go hand in hand. The ideal solution is one in which we, unlike the Czech and Polish dogs in my anecdote, can both eat and bark.

What we frequently hear at international gatherings is that one of the principal differences between the two major options of governmental systems offered the world today is that one pays attention to the special concerns of a few individuals and the other cares about the welfare of the masses.

I submit to you that if one really cares about the masses, one must also care about each and every individual that makes up the mass. Otherwise, as is often the case "caring" becomes an abstraction, a vague promise that is not sought to be realized.

What we, who profess the democratic ideology, believe is that, as Thomas Jefferson put it when he wrote the United States Dec-

laration of Independence, we are all endowed with certain unalienable rights, including the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These rights, we believe, may not be subordinated to any allegedly higher objective, as determined either by a single potentate or a collective, self-perpetuating leadership group. In other words, we do not subscribe to what in Aesopian terms is called "democratic centralism."

In the countries in which principles of individual freedom are now well established, the basic precepts of individual freedom are not even the subject of argument. Such debate as still continue deals with what we might consider marginal questions, such as what are allowable restrictions on pornography, how serious must be a person's mental illness before such a person can be involuntarily committed to a psychiatric institution, what may government do to restrict freedom of assembly if demonstrators interfere with access to a public building? But, as I have said, the basic precepts are not in doubt and not subject to argument.

We are then told that with all the attention paid to these freedoms to speak, publish or assemble, we neglect the unemployed, the homeless, the sick. "Is anyone paying attention to these issues of public policy?" is the challenging question posed to us in debates.

My response is that precisely because the issues of basic freedoms have become so noncontroversial, public debate and election campaigns in the democratic world do indeed revolve around questions of economic and social policy, not because anyone has called them "rights" or outlined them in a constitutional document, but because they are often in the forefront of the thinking of our ultimate decision-makers, the voters. Voters choose among candidates on the basis of who, in their opinion, advocates better solutions to the problems that we face in the economic and social sphere. It is in that context that the issue is not one of promise, of writing guarantees into constitutions and other basic documents, but one of delivering results.

Since the beginning of the Century one of the principal arguments in the political arena has indeed been the question of which system of government can deliver the best solution to the problems we confront in the economic and social sphere. By now, in the ninth decade of the Century, it appears that the verdict is in. With all the problems that we in the democratic world still face, that we continue to grapple with day by day, the private-incentive system has proved itself better capable of delivering the goods than the various collectivist experiments. As we all know so well, the country which operated the largest collectivist program in agriculture abandoned it totally about eight years ago and thereafter experienced an extraordinarily rapid growth in agricultural production. It is now trying to reintroduce private incentives into all other aspects of economic enterprise. And, more recently, in other Leninist countries, we hear talk of restructuring, the term that concedes that the collectivist command economy has proved to be a massive failure.

Let me now return to my point of departure. We need to gather at conferences such as this one to gather those experts, practitioners and thinkers who are prepared to discuss the basic principles of human freedom and personal dignity and the limits which must be imposed upon the powers of government to assure respect for those principles internationally. And there is most as-

suredly nothing wrong with holding meetings for the purpose of discussing ways and means of dealing with the problems of unemployment, as well as vocational training, the advisability or inadvisability of subsidizing uneconomic enterprises, of the creation of make-work jobs etc. We could also discuss differing approaches to the encouragement of the construction of quality housing, providing adequate, safe and sanitary dwellings for those who are now ill-housed, the furnishing of medical care of quality, and provisions to be made for the elderly. All this should be done by qualified experts in the fields in question and should not be injected into discussions on the limits of government, which deal with issues, as I noted earlier, in a wholly different area of expertise.

This conference, devoted to the themes which relate to the limits of government, should, therefore, appropriately deal with the major threats to individual dignity and freedom which are posed by the authority of the state. It is appropriate, I suggest, to go through the relevant Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which were thereafter incorporated into the Helsinki Final Act and determine where shortfalls can be identified and how steps could be taken to encourage correction in these shortfalls.

For today, almost forty years after adoption of the Declaration and twelve years after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the limitations imposed on governments to protect the individual's liberty, security of person, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of expression and similar freedoms are in many places consistently and deliberately violated. These violations must not be ignored, for ignoring them means betraying the heroes and heroines throughout the world who take great risks and make major personal sacrifices, endangering their life and personal security so that the cause of freedom may live. It is to them, that we all owe a debt of gratitude. And we must continue to discharge that debt by speaking up on their behalf wherever and whenever we can.

CHAIM GRADE

HON. TED WEISS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to place the works of Chaim Grade, a distinguished Yiddish poet and novelist, retroactively under the protection of the Copyright Act of 1976. I strongly believe that, given the importance of Grade's works and the extreme circumstances under which he wrote, this matter deserves favorable consideration by the Congress.

Chaim Grade has been acclaimed as the greatest Yiddish novelist. Many of his finest works depict the tragedy of Jewish life in Eastern Europe during and after the Holocaust.

Born in Vilna, Lithuania in 1910, Grade was influenced by his father, Rabbi Shlomo Mordecai Grade, a Hebraist and Zionist. Following his father's death, Chaim Grade lived with his mother, Vella, who worked as a fruit peddler to support herself and her son. At 22, Grade abandoned his religious studies and began to

write. He associated himself with a group of modernist writers and painters who called themselves Jung Vilna. The city of Vilna was, at that time, commonly referred to as the "Jerusalem of Lithuania" because of its pious and intellectual Jewish life.

As the Germans invaded Lithuania in 1941, Grade escaped on foot into Russia. Mistakenly believing that the Nazis would leave Jewish women and children alone, he left his young wife and beloved mother behind. After the war, Grade returned to Vilna to face the tragic loss of his loved ones and his community. Left with a tremendous sense of guilt, he longed to preserve and honor that which was lost. Chaim Grade's writing career, which had begun as a struggle against the generation of his parents and teachers, became a monument to that era.

In 1948, Grade came to the United States with his second wife, Inna Hecker Grade, so that he would be able to create without censorship. The Grades chose to live in the Riverdale section of the Bronx, which I am honored to represent.

Chaim Grade's works in Yiddish have received the highest critical acclaim. Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel has written that "the work of Chaim Grade, by its vision and scope, establishes him as one of the great—if not the greatest—of Yiddish novelists. Surely, he is the most authentic."

Grade was invited in 1978 to read his poetry at the White House. Too ill to attend, his wife read in his place. In 1983, his book "Rabbis and Wives" was among the finalists for the Pulitzer Prize in letters. And, the "Encyclopaedia Judaica" has said that Grade's attempts at confronting the national Jewish tragedy makes him, in a sense, "the national Jewish poet, as Bialik was in his day."

Chaim Grade was reluctant to have his works translated into English, fearing that they would lose their authenticity. Early efforts at translation were very disappointing to him. Initially forbidding further translation, he finally allowed it after entrusting his wife with the task of verifying the authenticity of the English text and the faithfulness to the Yiddish original.

Inna Hecker Grade has dedicated her life to preserving the integrity and increasing the accessibility of her distinguished husband's works. Because of her efforts, his name is firmly implanted into the list of accomplished Yiddish writers. And, through her expert translation, she has brought to the general English reading public a master of world literature.

The enthusiastic critical reception of Chaim Grade's work is well deserved. Unfortunately, his ignorance of the law and his preoccupation with the Jewish tragedy resulted in his neglect to seek copyright protection for it. Instead, he took for granted Le Droit Moral, the Moral Law, which served to protect the rights and works of authors in Europe.

Grade trusted the American system and believed that no one would take advantage of his works. But, his growing renown and the increasing appreciation of his literary talent has brought with it the danger that others may seek to profit from his work. It is vitally important that his writings be preserved and protected from misrepresentation.

The legislation I am introducing today would retroactively place Chaim Grade's works under the protection of the 1976 Copyright Act. All of Grade's works, published or unpublished, would be protected in the name of his widow, Inna Hecker Grade, for a 50-year term beginning from the date of his death in 1982.

I believe that this action is both appropriate and necessary to protect the integrity of Chaim Grade's works and to preserve the history and letters of the Jewish people. I urge the support of my colleagues and look forward to early and favorable consideration of this measure.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. GRANTING OF COPYRIGHT.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, copyright is hereby granted to Inna Hecker Grade and her successors and assigns in the works set forth in section 2 by Chaim Grade, including all editions in English and translations heretofore published or hereafter published by Inna Hecker Grade or her successors or assigns, for a term of 50 years from June 26, 1982 (the date of death of Chaim Grade). All copies of the protected works hereafter published are to bear notice of copyright, and all new editions hereafter published are to be registered in the Copyright Office, in accordance with the provisions of title 17, United States Code, or any revision or recodification thereof. The copyright owner shall be entitled to all rights and remedies provided to copyright owners generally by law, except that no liability shall attach under this Act for lawful uses made or acts done before the date of enactment of this Act in connection with such works, or in respect to the continuance for one year subsequent to such date of any business undertaking or enterprise lawfully undertaken before such date involving expenditure or contractual obligation in connection with the exploitation, production, reproduction, or circulation of such works.

SEC. 2. WORK SUBJECT TO COPYRIGHT.

The following works of Chaim Grade (including lectures and essays) are covered by section 1:

- (1) "Yo" ("Yes");
- (2) "Mussarnikes" ("Mussarniks");
- (3) "Dojrois" ("Generations");
- (4) "Oyf di Hurves" ("On the Ruins");
- (5) "Pleitim" ("Refugees");
- (6) "Farvoksene Vegn" ("Overgrown Paths");
- (7) "De Mames Tzavoe" ("The Mother's Will");
- (8) "Shayn fun Farloshene Shtern" ("Shine of the Extinguished Stars");
- (9) "Mayn Krig Mit Hersh Rassayner" ("My Quarrel with Hersh Rassayner");
- (10) "Yerushalaim shel Maylah, Yerushalaim shel Matah" ("The Heavenly Jerusalem and the Earthly");
- (11) "Hurbin";
- (12) "Vilna", with 5 major parts entitled:
 - (A) "Vilan";
 - (B) "Di Shank" ("The Tavern");
 - (C) "Der Ger-Tzadik" ("The Convert");
 - (D) "Di Hiter fun der Shtot" ("The Guardians of the City");
 - (E) "Unter di Gevelbte Toyern" ("Beneath the Vaulted Gates");
- (13) "Talmidei-Hahomin in der Lite" ("Talmudic Scholars in Lithuania");

(14) "Oyf Mayn Veg Tzu Dir"; ("On My Way to You");

(15) "Dos Alte Hoyz" ("The Old House"), alternate titles are:

(A) "Zin un Tahter" ("Sons and Daughters");

(B) "Der Beth-Horav" ("The Rabbi's House");

(16) "Fun Unter der Erd" ("From Beneath the Ground"), the title of the first version is "Froyen fun Ghetto" ("Women of the Ghetto");

(17) "Yury Goresha", a part of the novel "From Beneath the Ground";

(18) "Alte Boherim" ("The Bachelors");

(19) "In Gerangl mitn Malah" ("Wrestling with the Angel"), subtitle is "Lieder un Elegyes" ("Poems and Elegies"); Collected Poems, 1932-82;

(20) "Chaim Nachman Bialik";

(21) "H. Leivik, der Poet fun Laydn un Goyrl" ("H. Leivik, The Poet of Suffering and Fate");

(22) "H. Leivik in Mayn Lehn and Shafn" ("H. Leivik in my Life and my Works");

(23) "Itzik Manger, der Poet fun Shaynkayt un Shpil" ("Itzik Manger, the Poet of Beauty and Play");

(24) "Dray Yiddische Klassiker, Mendele, I.L. Peretz, Sholem-Alaychem" ("Three Yiddish Classics, Mendele, I.L. Peretz, Sholem-Alaychem");

(25) "Anski, der Maskl, Revolutioner un Baal Tshuvah" ("Anski, the Champion of Enlightenment, the Revolutionary and the Penitent");

(26) "Probelmen fun a Yiddish Shrayber un Problemen fun der Yiddisher Literatur" ("Problems of a Yiddish Writer and Problems of the Yiddish Literature");

(27) "Mayn Veg in der Yiddisher Literatur" ("My Path in the Yiddish Literature");

(28) "I.L. Peretz";

(29) "Mayn Bagegenish mit Sovetishe Yiddisher Shrayber" ("My Encounter with the Soviet Yiddish Writers");

(30) "Dray Dramatishe Poemen—'Di Goldene Kayt', 'Der Goylem', 'Der Dybbuk', 'Three Dramatic Poems—'The Golden Chain', 'the Goylem', 'The Dybbuk'";

(31) "Dray Hoybt Motiven in Mayn Shafung" ("Three Mayn Motives in My Works");

(32) "Yung Vilna un ir Svivah" ("Young Vilna and its Milieu");

(33) "Shevet Tzion" ("The Return to Zion");

(34) "Shabes un Voh in der Yiddisher Literatur" ("The Sabbath and the Weekdays in Yiddish Literature");

(35) "Mussarnikes un Litvishe Yeshivas" ("The Mussarniks and the Lithuanian Yeshivas");

(36) "Sholem Alaychem";

(37) "Nusah Mizrah Evrope un Reb Isroel Baal 'Shem' Tov" ("The Jewish Way of Life in Eastern Europe and Rabbi Israel Baal 'Shem' Tov");

(38) "Reb Isroel Salanter un Reb Isroel Baal 'Shem' Tov" ("Rabbi Israel Salanter and Rabbi Israel Baal 'Shem' Tov");

(39) "Der Talmudhokem in der Yiddisher Literatur" ("The Talmudic Scholar in Yiddish Literature");

(40) "Di Haskore in Vilner Shtot Shul Nohn Ger-Tzadik, Graf Potocki" ("The Memorial Service at the Grand Synagogue of Vilna for the Convert, Count Potocki");

(41) "Dr. Shmuel Ravidovitch un zayn Philosophia fun Yiddish Kium Umetum" ("Dr. Samuel Ravidovitch and his Philosophy of the Jewish Life Worldwide");

(42) "Dr. Shmuel Ravidovitch un zayn Kamf farn Yiddish Kium Umetum" ("Dr.

Samuel Ravidovich and his Struggle for the Jewish Life Worldwide");

(43) "Zaynen di Yiddische Shrayber in Sovet Russland Geven Marranen?" ("Were the Yiddish Writers in Soviet Russia Marranos?");

(44) "Reb Yehudah Ibn Shmuel Dr. Kaufman" ("Rabbi Jehudah Ibn Samuel Dr. Kaufman");

(45) "Shir-HaShirim—A Liebe-Lied, a National Gezag un Mistishe Poeme" ("The Song of Songs—a Love Song, a National Hymn and a Mystical Poem") lecture and essay;

(46) "Tzfas un der Barg Miron" ("Saffed and Mount Miron") lecture and essay;

(47) "Mentshen, Shtayner un Flantzen in Eretz-Israel" ("The People, the Stones and the Greening of Israel") lecture and essay;

(48) "Mit Vos Vilna Iz Geven Anders?" ("What Made Vilna Unique?");

(49) "Histadruth";

(50) "Yiddish Lebn in Vilna far der Zvayter Velt Melhome" ("Jewish Life in Vilna Before World War II") alternate title is "Yiddish Folk lebn un Traditzie in der Lite" ("Jewish Folk-Life and Tradition in Lithuania");

(51) "Di Naye Hebreische Literatur un der Yunger Dor in Israel" ("The New Hebrew Literature and the Young Generation in Israel");

(52) "Di Ibergeblibene" ("The Survivors");

(53) ("To the Survivors of the German Concentration Camps, World Federation of Bergen-Belsen, Associations");

(54) "Drayssik Yor Shpeter" ("Thirty Years Later");

(55) "Der Bodn un di Legende fun Eretz-Israel," ("The Soil and the Legend of the Land of Israel");

(56) "Di Letzte Mahlaykes tzvishn Rabbim in Vilna" ("The Last Controversies Among the Rabbis of Vilna");

(57) "Amerikaner Yiddishe Poetn, Morris Rosenfeld, Avrohom Reisen, Walt-Lessin un Mani Leib," ("American Yiddish Poets, Morris Rosenfeld, Avrohom Reisen, Walt-Lessin un Mani Leib");

(58) Any other works of Chaim Grade, however created, whether published or unpublished.

RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM FOR MILITARY FAMILIES

HON. LEON E. PANETTA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following newspaper article on the benefits of the military pilot program on rental housing. It appeared in the Air Force Times on February 8, 1988. The article does an excellent job explaining the advantage of making permanent a current DOD pilot program which encourages landlords near a military installation to waive security deposits in exchange for a Government guarantee for payment by withholding the money from the service member's pay.

This article points out that the housing officials at the three test sites have indicated that the guarantee program has reduced family moving costs and improved morale. It is important to note that no appropriation of funds is necessary because the service member

would be ultimately responsible for meeting the costs of any damage or breach of lease.

On February 18, 1988, I introduced H.R. 3975, which directs the Secretary of Defense to establish a permanent program involving military personnel and their civilian landlords. This legislation makes permanent the pilot program which has been in effect at Fort Ord over the last 15 months. The program has been implemented with a high degree of success resulting in the solution of problems with military residents to payment and landlords obtaining guarantees on security deposit payments.

I commend this article to all my colleagues and hope that it will encourage each Member to consider cosponsoring H.R. 3975 which will resolve one of the most pressing and financially disabling issues our service members and their families face by making permanent this highly successful pilot program.

[From the Air Force Times, Feb. 8, 1988]

HILL MAY EXTEND NO-DEPOSIT RENTAL PROGRAM

(By Grant Willis)

WASHINGTON.—Private landlords have rented more than 1,400 housing units to military members—without requiring security deposits—under a one-year test program to reduce move-in costs at three stateside installations, military housing officials said.

Pentagon officials and congressional staffers expect lawmakers to extend the program, but it might not come soon enough for service members scheduled to move this summer.

Congressional authorization for the guarantee program is set to expire in June. That means no additional families will be able to participate in the program between June and October, even if Congress re-authorizes the program for fiscal 1989.

The Department of Defense program encourages landlords near the installations to waive security deposits in exchange for a government guarantee. If a service member in the program breaches his lease or fails to pay for damages to an apartment, the government may reimburse the landlord and withhold the money from the member's pay.

Housing officials at the three test sites—an Air Force, a Navy and an Army installation—say the guarantee program has reduced family moving costs, improved morale and cost the government almost nothing.

"It allows a family to come to a base and not worry about a lot of out-of-pocket money," said Jack Borodko, housing manager at Luke AFB, Ariz. The program began at Luke last May and is scheduled to end in June. Other test sites are Moffett Field Naval AS and Fort Ord, both in California.

Final reports from the test sites are due in August. Preliminary statistics show few participating landlords have made claims against the government.

DOD surveys have repeatedly shown that military families never recover the full cost of a move to a new duty station. Faced with the cost of shipping household goods, many families lack the cash to pay the first month's rent, last month's rent and a security deposit on a new apartment.

Until now, the service member's only remedy for high move-in costs has been a three-month pay advance. The advance is equivalent to a 12-month interest-free loan, but it can cause additional hardship when the service member struggles to pay the money back.

Here is how the program works: First, an installation housing office recruits landlords willing to waive security deposits for military tenants. That may sound like a gamble, but many landlords feel more secure with military tenants, said Rodney Kleman, a lawyer who owns 78 apartments near Fort Ord.

"I would prefer to cooperate with the military, because you know they have a steady job and you have the (post) housing referral office behind you to stand up for what's right," he said.

Landlords who participate sign a memorandum of understanding with the housing office. The government agrees to reimburse the landlord for any breach of the lease or any damage caused by the member's guests or dependents. The reimbursement is limited to the amount the landlord usually charges for security deposits not the full extent of property damage.

Under the program rules at Luke and Moffett, landlords may not submit claims to the government until they have "exhausted any remedy," including court action. This may discourage some landlords from participating, because they have to go through so many steps to recover their money. Borodko said.

Military families who live in a participating landlord's rental unit agree to a three-, six- or 12-month lease. The maximum lease under the program is 12 months. As long as the lease remains in effect, the tenant does not have to pay a security deposit. The guarantee is not renewable, however, and families who remain in the same unit after their original lease expires must pay a security deposit if the landlords asks for one. Families also lose their deposit guarantee if they move.

Even if a landlord makes a successful claim for damages, the government does not lose money because the law allows service secretaries to withhold the expense from the service member's paycheck.

All the test sites report they have been able to run the guarantee program with existing housing office staff. "The administrative cost of the program is offset by less staff time that is spent trying to find members cheaper housing or apartments with lower security deposits," Borodko said.

But Pentagon officials are cautiously optimistic that Congress will renew the program in fiscal 1989 or expand it to all stateside installations.

"All the indications we've received are favorable," a DoD housing official said. "But the program has never been tested in court. If you don't know what the (final) results are it's hard to tell what the problems are."

The original legislation for the guarantee program was sponsored in the House by Rep. Leon E. Panetta, D-Calif., whose district includes Fort Ord. If the program results are positive, Panetta will try to keep the program going in fiscal 1989 and expand it to more military installations, said Barry Toiv, an aide to the congressman.

Security-deposit guarantees have brought "a lot of smiles" to Air Force families at Luke AFB, said Borodko, the housing manager. Since the program began last spring, the Luke housing office has signed memoranda with 74 multifamily landlords, 23 real estate agents and four individual homeowners, Borodko said. The landlords own a total of 18,000 rental units in the area near the base.

Average rents for one-bedroom apartments in the Phoenix area are \$350 per month, while the average for a three-bed-

room unit is \$800 per month, Air Force housing surveys show.

The Air Force has paid no claims to landlords under the guarantee program, Borodko said, but the housing office did help landlords collect \$35,000 directly from military tenants in mediated settlements last year. Borodko was unable to say how many of the settlements were connected with the guarantee program, since the housing office offers mediation services to all its clients.

Because the program is so new, it is too early to tell whether security-deposit guarantees would work overseas. DoD officials said. The officials noted that military members stationed overseas already get reimbursed for rental security deposits through the initial terminal occupancy allowance, a component of the monthly overseas housing allowance.

COMMISSION ON VALUES EDUCATION

HON. ROBIN TALLON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. TALLON. Mr. Speaker, read between the headlines of 1988 and you will find the common theme of moral decay. Unethical behavior is evident in every aspect, and on every level, of our society. From the White House, to Wall Street, to Heritage U.S.A., evidence of corruption, dishonesty, and greed abound. Additional incidents of insider trading, fraud in scientific research, bribery, and kickbacks are too numerous to name.

What sort of impact are the decisions of so many responsible adults having on our young people? A few statistics tell a frightening story. Cheating in our schools is rampant.

Over 25 percent of our Nation's fourth graders say they feel pressure to use drugs.

Drunken driving is the leading cause of death among those 15 to 25 years of age.

And, more than 1 million teenage girls in this country become pregnant each year. The United States surpasses all other Western developed nations in its rates of teenage pregnancy, abortion and births.

We are raising a generation of children who cannot distinguish between right and wrong. They are not prepared to make tough choices when there are gray areas, or when values seem to conflict.

I am not laying this at the foot of our school system. Still, schools can play a role in helping to install values in individuals. The 1960's and 1970's saw a move toward relativistic, values-free teaching in which students were given the options, but no guidance toward answers.

Our young people have been led to believe that ethical boundaries are up for grabs. The line is always moving. The simple word, decency is one we shy away from.

But, recently things have started to change. Leaders from a wide range of political and social arenas and religious backgrounds have called for strengthening the teaching and democratic values stating that education for democracy must extend to education in moral issues. Now, a growing number of educators agree that schools should teach civic virtue

and take clear positions on right or wrong behavior.

That is why I am joining in sponsorship of H.R. 2667, legislation to create a commission on values education. The purpose of this bill is to find out how we can better educate people to become productive members of society by identifying and promoting basic values.

It requires the commission to identify values which are essential to our well-being, including honesty, integrity, tolerance, self-discipline, self-respect, civility, importance of family, justice, and equality, the rule of law, individual rights, the common good, love of country, love of knowledge, responsibility and accountability, and protection of oneself and others from degradation and abuse.

It also requires a report to Congress within a year with recommendations on what Congress and the executive branch can do to promote the teaching values in American schools.

This commission would not be made up of so-called experts. Language has been included specifically stating that appointments be made from groups including parents, students, educators, philosophers, theologians, and religious leaders, sports figures, social service workers and the general public.

We need to shore up a moral foundation that was once taken for granted in this country. For over two centuries, our Nation has relied on this foundation for vision. The same sort of vision that inspired our Founding Fathers. A vision that can direct us away from a damaging self-absorption to a new outward looking global perspective. A vision focused on American know-how, innovation and adaptability. A vision that will take us into the 21st century with the same pride, competence, and compassion that brought us into this one.

The single most important thing I have learned as a Congressman is that how we perform as a nation is determined by how we perform as individuals. Our young people must recognize the importance of their own future and potential. Our tomorrow depends on it.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF SECTION 711, H.R. 3100

HON. SAM GEJDENSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, in response to inquiries regarding the constitutionality of section 711 of H.R. 3100, the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987, I commissioned a legal opinion from the Congressional Research Service. That opinion, which follows, states, in part, "The power to make appropriations includes the authority not only to designate the purpose of the appropriation, but also the terms and conditions under which the executive department of the Government may expend the appropriation * * * The purpose of the appropriations, the terms and conditions under which * * * appropriations (are) made is solely in the hands of Congress and it is the plain duty of the executive branch of the Gov-

ernment to comply with the same." *Spaulding v. Douglas Aircraft*, 60 F. Supp. 985, 986 (S.D. Cal. 1945), *aff'd* 154 F.2d 419 (9th cir. 1946)."

CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE,

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,

Washington, D.C., February 11, 1988.

To: Honorable Sam Gejdenson.

Attention: Kathleen Bertelsen.

From: American Law Division.

Subject: Constitutionality of Section 711, H.R. 3100, the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1978.

Reference is made to your inquiry of February 4, 1988, requesting our comments on the above matter.

Despite intimations that section 711 of H.R. 3100, which effectively prohibits using economic and military assistance or arms sales to obtain other country aid for the Contras, trenches upon the President's foreign affairs powers, it seems well within Congress' powers to enact. See 133 Cong. Rec. H11066 et seq. (daily ed. Dec. 9, 1987).

Section 711 amends section 722(d) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 99 Stat. 190. Known widely as the Pell Amendment, section 722(d) provides:

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds authorized to be appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act (except the funds authorized to be appropriated in this section), by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, or by the Arms Export Control Act shall be used to provide assistance of any kind, either directly or indirectly, to any person or group engaging in an insurgency or other act of rebellion against the Government of Nicaragua. The United States shall not enter into any arrangement conditioning, expressly or impliedly, the provision of assistance under this Act or the purchase of defense articles and services under the Arms Export Control Act upon the provision of assistance by a recipient to persons or groups engaging in an insurgency or other act of rebellion against the Government of Nicaragua.

Generally, section 722(d) prohibits the use of funds under the Foreign Assistance Act or the Arms Export Control Act to provide any assistance to any person engaged in any insurgency against the Government of Nicaragua. It also prohibits the U.S. Government from entering into any arrangement with the recipients of U.S. assistance or purchasers of defense articles and services to provide such assistance.

The Committee of Conference on the 1985 legislation described the purpose of the second prohibition as follows:

The purpose of the second sentence of this section is to prohibit the United States from furnishing economic or military assistance or selling U.S. military equipment on the condition, either expressly or impliedly, that the recipient or purchaser provide assistance to insurgents involved in the struggle in Nicaragua. This section does not prohibit U.S. Government officials from discussing U.S. policy in Central America with recipients of U.S. assistance or purchasers of U.S. military equipment. Nor does it prohibit recipients of U.S. assistance from furnishing assistance to any third party on their own volition and from their own resources. H.Rept. No. 99-237 at 143.

Section 711 of H.R. 3100 leaves the first prohibition as it is and revises the second to read as follows:

The United States shall make no agreement and shall enter into no understanding, either formal or informal, under which a recipient of United States economic or military assistance or a purchaser of United States military equipment shall provide assistance of any kind to persons or groups engaging in an insurgency or other act of rebellion against the Government of Nicaragua.

The changes to the Pell Amendment made by section 711 seem to be largely stylistic rather than substantive. It substitutes the arguably more precise "agreement" and "understanding, either formal or informal" for the more indefinite "arrangement conditioning, expressly or impliedly" of the earlier law. Substantive change if any is not immediately apparent and more than likely both versions have a common purpose, namely, to prohibit U.S. officials from taking advantage of any leverage afforded by the FAA or the AECA to prevail upon recipients of U.S. assistance or purchasers of U.S. military equipment to assist the Contras and similar groups.

As indicated, it has been suggested that section 711 in some unexplained way interferes with Executive powers in the area of foreign affairs in violation of separation of powers principles. Although not susceptible of exhaustive definition, the President's powers "in this vast external realm" are not insignificant. *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Corp.*, 299 U.S. 304, 319 (1936). The congressional powers implicated by section 711 are equally, if not more, formidable, including as they do the power to make and condition appropriations. (E.g., "... no funds authorized to be appropriated or otherwise made available. . . .")

It may be noted that there are no directly relevant court cases involving a conflict between the congressional power of the purse and the presidential foreign affairs power. Cases involving these powers, chiefly litigation brought by private persons, support the breadth of the former and the nonstatutory basis for some of the matters comprehended by the latter. See, e.g., *Spaulding v. Douglas Aircraft Co.*, 60 F. Supp. 985, 986 (S.D. Cal. 1945), *affd.* 154 F.2d 419 (9th Cir. 1946), and *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Corp.*, 299 U.S. at 319. In these and a handful of other cases, the courts have not gone much beyond some generalities about the powers in question; none, to the best of our knowledge, attempts either to exhaust the range of activities comprehended by them or to draw a boundary line between them. As Justice Jackson observed in the landmark *Steel Seizure* case in 1952 and as recently repeated by then Justice Rehnquist in the *Iranian Assets* case: "[any person as well as a judge . . . may be surprised at the poverty of really useful and unambiguous authority applicable to concrete problems of executive power as they actually present themselves." *Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579, 634 (1952) (concurring opinion) and *Dames & Moore v. Reagan*, 453 U.S. 654, 600 (1981).

The issues raised by section 711 are not new issues, but in one form or other have been debated for two hundred years. Indeed, if Edward S. Corwin is to be believed, debate was and is inevitable. "... the Constitution, considered only for its affirmative grants of powers capable of affecting the issue, is an invitation to struggle for the privilege of directing American foreign policy." *The President: Office and Powers 1787-1957* 177 (1957).

The Constitution gives the power to "receive ambassadors and other public Minis-

ters" and "to make Treaties" to the President but he may only do the latter with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senators present. U.S. Const. Art. II §2, cl. 2. Court cases recognize him as the nation's "mouthpiece" in foreign affairs, support the view that he alone negotiates, and that he may remove some obstacles in the path of normalizing relations with another country, such as settling claims. See e.g., *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Corp.*, *supra*; *United States v. Belmont*, 301 U.S. 324 (1937); *United States v. Pink* U.S. 23 (1942); *Dames & Moore v. Regan*, *supra*.

As Commander in Chief, the President has command of the army and navy and may respond to an attack upon the United States. See, e.g., *Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. at 642 (concurring opinion). Also, there is authority for the proposition that he may act to safeguard American lives and property abroad. See *Durand v. Hollins*, 8 F. Cas. 111 (No. 4186) (C.C.S.D.N.Y. 1860) and *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36, 79 (1872). But see the Hostage Act of 1868, 22 U.S.C. §1732, which excludes war from the President's options to obtain release of Americans unreasonably detained by a foreign government.

What more goes with these two titles is largely a matter of advocacy rather than law. Again, as Justice Jackson noted, "[a] century and a half of partisan debate and scholarly speculation [re. presidential powers] yields no net result but only more or less apt quotations from respected sources on each side of any question. They largely cancel each other." *Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. at 634-635 (concurring opinion).

On the other hand, aside from his powers "to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States . . ." and to "receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers", the President is totally dependent upon Congress for authority or money and usually both to implement any policy. Congress is under no legal obligation to supply either or both. For example, "[w]hile Congress cannot deprive the President of command of the army and navy, only Congress can provide him an army or navy to command." *Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. at 644 (concurring opinion).

The power to make appropriations includes the authority not only to designate the purpose of the appropriation, "but also the terms and conditions under which the executive department of the government may expend the appropriation. . . . The purpose of the appropriations, the terms and conditions under which . . . appropriations [are] made is solely in the hands of Congress and it is the plain duty of the executive branch of the government to comply with the same." *Spaulding v. Douglas Aircraft Co.*, 60 F. Supp. 985, 986 (S.D. Cal. 1945), *affd.* 154 F.2d 419 (9th Cir. 1946).

Louis Henkin observes as follows on the point:

One necessary and proper power of Congress, as important as any for the conduct of foreign relations, is that implied in the provision that "No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law." (Art. I, sec. 9, cl. 7) While, we shall see, Congress usually feels legally, politically, or morally obligated to appropriate funds to implement his treaties and other foreign undertakings, Congress can readily refuse to appropriate when it believes the President has exceeded his powers. Even when the President acts clearly within his powers, Congress decides the

degree and detail of its support; it determines ultimately the State Department's budget, how much money the President shall have to spend on the armed forces under this command, how much he can agree to contribute to the United Nations. Since the President is always coming to Congress for money for innumerable purposes, domestic and foreign, Congress and Congressional committees can use appropriations and the appropriations process to bargain also about other elements of Presidential policy in foreign affairs. Because the President usually cannot afford to veto appropriations acts they are favorite vehicles for "conditions" and other riders imposed on unwilling Presidents. *Foreign Affairs and the Constitution* 79 (1972) (Notes omitted) (Emphasis added.)

Although Congress in enacting laws has to scrupulously avoid even incidental adverse effects on fully autonomous presidential powers (e.g., the pardoning power, *Ex parte Garland*, 71 U.S. 333 (1867)), it is under no similar constraints in other areas. The fact that in the exercise of an acknowledged power, such as the power to raise and equip the Armed Forces of the United States, the Congress may incidentally affect the ambit of presidential discretion as the organ of foreign relations or as Commander in Chief is not a violation of the separation of powers. For example, Congress is under no constitutional obligation to provide "bargaining chips" in for the form of additional weapons systems for the purpose of international negotiations. "The Constitution does not subject this lawmaking power of Congress to presidential or military supervision or control." *Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. at 588.

Section 711 deals with programs which only Congress can authorize and fund: foreign aid and arms sales. In brief, statutory authority is required for these purposes. See testimony of former Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam in accord with this conclusion. *The Supreme Court Decision Concerning The Legislative Veto*. Hearings Before The Committee On Foreign Affairs, 98th Congress, 1st Session (1983) at 100. Congress has ringed both programs with conditions designed to carry out their purposes, prevent abuses, and implement congressional policy choices. E.g., 22 U.S.C. §§ 2370, 2422, 2753. Whether written as direct restraints on authority or indirect restraints on authority in the form of conditional appropriations, neither form has been seriously challenged on constitutional grounds. The Pell Amendment as modified by section 711 of H.R. 3100 effectively prohibits direct and indirect assistance under the FAA and the AECA to the Contras or using these programs to accomplish these results by other countries. It does not prevent negotiations or interfere with the power to receive ambassadors and other matters that inhere in the latter, areas of autonomous power. While the policy underlying the congressional exercise of legislative power under consideration may be questioned, the existence of the power seems fairly clear.

Although Congress is subject to the Constitution even in the exercise of its power of the purse, see, e.g., *United States v. Lovett*, 328 U.S. 303 (1946), "[e]ven when the President acts clearly within his powers, Congress decides the degree and detail of its support." Henkin, *Foreign Affairs and the Constitution*, at 79, and "it is the plain duty of the executive branch of the government

to comply with the same." *Spaulding v. Douglas Aircraft Co.*, 60 F. Supp. at 986.

RAYMOND J. CELADA,
Senior Specialist in
American Public Law.

ENERGY EFFICIENT TECHNOLOGY

HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call my colleagues' attention to the energy efficiency technology exhibit now on display at the Cannon rotunda. The conservation technologies presented there can have an enormous impact on reducing our energy needs and benefiting our environment.

Sponsored by the Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition, the Environment and Energy Study Institute, the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future and the Competitiveness Caucus, the exhibit displays exciting conservation technologies developed by several national laboratories and private companies. These technologies will help the Nation become more productive, competitive, and secure by reducing the cost of manufacturing, reducing dependence on foreign oil and significantly improving our environment.

Despite the great gains in energy efficiency already achieved, much more can be accomplished. Yet the current administration has cut the DOE conservation budget by 75 percent in the past 7 years and is again seeking almost a fourfold reduction for the coming budget year. President Reagan has neglected conservation and renewable energy while pouring substantial sums of money into nuclear energy, in spite of the fact that nuclear energy expansion has come to a standstill in the past 10 years, while conservation and efficiency efforts have reduced our national energy consumption by 30 percent.

It is my sincere hope that the unwisdom of this administration will soon be reversed, so that the technologies that hold the most promise will receive the greatest level of assistance. I again commend those who have worked so hard to put this exhibit together and who are attempting to steer our Nation's energy policy in the right direction.

TERRORISTS MURDER THE INNOCENT IN EL SALVADOR

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

MR. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of yet another vote on the Contras, I want to share with my colleagues a disturbing news story from El Salvador. According to recent reports, Marxist FMLN guerrillas have again murdered innocent Salvadoran workers and have also kidnapped a government official and mayoral candidate.

The armed Marxist guerrillas often resort to terrorist tactics in their ongoing offensive in

that poor country. While the guerrillas claim that they want to liberate El Salvador and help the people of that country, innocent Salvadoran peasants are all too often the victims of the Marxists' liberation efforts.

In addition to killing peasants, many government officials have been kidnapped and assassinated along with others to include off duty marines who were sitting in an outdoor cafe when they were brutally murdered. The guerrillas have also launched an offensive designed to destroy the infrastructure of that poor country. Roads have been cut, power pylons have been destroyed, and power stations have been damaged. Even schools and buses have been destroyed. The struggling Salvadoran industrial base has also come under siege.

The Marxist guerrillas receive training and supplies from both Cuba and Nicaragua. A building in downtown Managua is the radio communications control center for the various FMLN guerrilla groups operating in El Salvador.

The guerrillas clearly have one objective in mind. They are determined to destroy the democratic government of President Duarte and replace that government with a Marxist-Leninist one. Should that happen, El Salvador would be nothing more than a clone of Nicaragua. Both countries will then be able to work together to export their Communist revolutions to neighboring states and perhaps to Mexico itself.

I urge my colleagues to read the following article which highlights the same side of the Salvadoran guerrillas.

[From the Washington Times, Feb. 24, 1988]

FMLN KILLS 3 WOMEN DURING TRANSPORT BAN

SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR.—Marxist guerrillas killed three women and wounded six other persons in an ambush on a bus taking factory workers home during a rebel transport ban, military and local officials said yesterday.

The military also reported the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front guerrillas kidnapped a government official and a mayoral candidate in local elections scheduled for March 20.

The FMLN traffic ban, called as part of an offensive to disrupt the polls, gripped El Salvador for a second day yesterday, with roads in the countryside almost paralyzed and chaos in the capital because of the lack of public transport.

The ambush brought to nine the number of civilians killed by the FMLN in the past week. A family of six was killed when a mortar shell landed on their house during an attack on the military barracks in eastern Usulután city last week.

The guerrillas' Radio Venceremos did not immediately acknowledge the bus ambush, but last night it reiterated its threat to attack vehicles defying the ban.

The military, which has deployed thousands of troops to keep the roads open, said the guerrillas machine-gunned the bus about midnight Monday on the Pan-American highway near San Martín, six miles east of the capital.

Urban guerrillas burned a vehicle belonging to the state telephone company in the capital.

The military also said the FMLN kidnapped two people in the town of Alegria, Usulután. It identified the victims as

Manuel Guardado, who is running for mayor as a candidate of the ruling Christian Democrat Party, and Ricardo Arturo Batles, a money collector for the state water and power company.

FMLN sabotage caused more than \$200,000 worth of damage to the San Fermín coffee processing plant outside the town of Berlin, a few miles from Alegria, the military said. Offices and four vehicles were burned.

Meanwhile, few buses or other vehicles were venturing out in rural areas because of the guerrilla threat, radio reports said. The Pan-American highway and other main roads were almost deserted, they said.

Customs officials said only five commercial vehicles crossed the border from Guatemala on Monday. At the other end of the country, vehicles were waiting on the Honduran side for the guerrillas to call off the indefinite ban.

Local correspondents said the east was at a virtual standstill. Many businesses in San Miguel and Usulután cities were shut.

State electrical company workers were trying to repair power lines sabotaged by the guerrillas on Monday. Power was back in the capital, but correspondents said parts of the four eastern provinces were still without electricity.

Traffic bans are a favorite tactic of the guerrillas to show they are still a force to be reckoned with. Last year they held seven.

REV. DR. GRANVILLE ALLEN SEWARD CELEBRATES 20 YEARS AT MOUNT ZION BAP- TIST CHURCH

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

MR. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on March 4, 1988, the congregation of Mount Zion Baptist Church in Newark, NJ, will celebrate the 20th anniversary of its pastor, Rev. Dr. Granville Allen Seward. At a special dinner that evening, Reverend Seward will be honored for his "Commitment to the Vision" during 20 years as pastor of Mount Zion. It will be an occasion for the congregation and the community to express their loving pride and warm appreciation for this outstanding individual.

When Reverend Seward arrived in Newark in 1968, he came with a sense of mission and an enduring faith. At the young age of 17, he acknowledged his call to the ministry. In 1957, Reverend Seward was ordained and served for 7 years as the pastor of First Baptist Church in Rendville, OH. He has also carried his ministry to other parts of the world including tours of Asia and Africa.

Reverend Seward also began his ministry in Newark with impressive academic credentials. He received a bachelor of Arts degree from Ohio State University and a bachelor of divinity degree from Colgate Rochester Divinity School. After pursuing graduate studies at Ohio State University, Reverend Seward entered the Crozer Theological Seminary where he received a doctorate of ministry in 1982.

Reverend Seward's mission and commitment has extended to the entire community. As an educator, he served as a visiting pro-

fessor at the Colgate Rochester Divinity School and at the New York Theological Seminary. From 1980 to 1984, Reverend Seward was a member of the Newark Board of Education where he served effectively and with distinction.

The true hallmark of Reverend Seward is his kindness, his deep and abiding faith, and his commitment to helping others. His 20 years as the pastor of Mount Zion Baptist Church have been a time of expanding horizons and growth.

I want to extend my warmest congratulations and best wishes to Reverend Seward on this special occasion. He has enriched the entire community with his leadership and commitment and he has earned our respect and appreciation.

NATIONAL RURAL HEALTH AWARENESS WEEK

HON. THOMAS J. TAUKE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. TAUKE. Mr. Speaker, and fellow Members of the House, on February 17, Mr. CHAPMAN, Mr. PICKLE, Mr. WHITTAKER, Mr. EMERSON, Mr. SIKORSKI, Mr. HATCHER, Mr. GRANT, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. TALLON, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. SCHUETTE, Mr. WEBER, Mr. HUTTO, Mr. DAUB, Mr. JONTZ, Mr. COLEMAN of Missouri, Mr. HALL of Texas, and I introduced House Joint Resolution 461, designating the week beginning May 15, 1988 as "National Rural Health Awareness Week."

I ask my colleagues to consider the unique problems facing rural communities today. The health status of rural Americans remains significantly lower than that of urban Americans, with rural Americans showing disproportionately higher rates of maternal and infant mortality, higher injury rates, and higher rates of chronic illness. Statistics show that greater numbers of rural Americans are poorer and tend to be less insured—if at all—than those living in urban areas. Rural areas also face acute shortages of health professionals, including physicians, nurses, psychologists, and allied health professionals. Moreover, closures of rural hospitals and other health care facilities, which have a severe impact on their communities, continue to spread across the rural areas of our Nation.

In order to further address the rural health crisis, we must continue to focus attention on the health care needs of rural Americans and rural communities. It is in recognition of this that I ask my colleagues to join me in designating the week of May 15 as "National Rural Health Awareness Week." For your ready reference, a text of the resolution follows:

H.J. Res. 461

Whereas the economic and social well-being of a nation depends on the health of its people;

Whereas 25 percent of the people in the United States live in rural communities;

Whereas 33 percent of the elderly people in the United States live in rural communities;

Whereas rural communities have only 12 percent of the physicians in the United

States, 18 percent of the nurses in the United States, and 14 percent of the pharmacies in the United States;

Whereas rural communities face an acute and growing nursing shortage, and 50 percent of the hospitals and long-term care facilities in rural communities report difficulty in recruiting and retaining nurses;

Whereas the people who live in rural communities are increasingly experiencing a lack of access to obstetric care;

Whereas the decline of the rural economy in recent years reduced the economic resources available to rural communities and lead to increased closures of hospitals and other health care facilities in rural communities, the loss or curtailment of services by rural health departments, and the disruption of social service programs;

Whereas the decline in the number of hospitals and other health care facilities in rural communities has, in turn, increased the shortage of physicians, nurses, psychologists, and other allied health professionals in such communities;

Whereas rural communities have few transportation services, thereby making it difficult for rural residents without transportation to obtain needed health care;

Whereas the residents of rural communities generally have poorer health than residents of urban areas and have higher infant and maternal mortality rates, higher rates of chronic illness, and higher rates of injury than residents of urban areas;

Whereas there are more poor and medically indigent people in rural communities than in urban areas;

Whereas hospitals in rural communities serve a higher percentage of elderly patients than hospitals in urban areas serve, and Medicare payments are a high percentage of the total revenues of hospitals in rural communities; and

Whereas current policies result in substantially lower Medicare payments to health care providers in rural communities for services equivalent to the services provided by health care providers in urban areas, and such payment policies further increase the likelihood of financial failure and closure of health care facilities in rural communities: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the week beginning on May 15, 1988, is designated as "National Rural Health Awareness Week", and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

JAPAN: HELP PROTECT COMMERCIAL SEA LANES

HON. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I was disappointed recently when Japan categorically rejected a U.S. suggestion that it extend its defense effort.

Former U.S. Secretary of the Navy James Webb urged Japan to increase its maritime defense to extend beyond the 1,000 nautical miles of sea lanes that it currently safeguards. Such an increase would augment shipping

protection to the strategically important Indian Ocean. This request complements others made by the administration and Congress that Japan play a more prominent military role in defense of the free world.

While we are all aware of the political sensitivities surrounding military spending in Japan, we also know that the Japan of the 1980's is fundamentally different from the Japan of the 1930's and 1940's. Today, Japan and the United States represent all of the freedoms and liberties that are guaranteed by free and open democracies.

The Japanese Government's decision to issue a "categorical no" to the idea of increasing maritime protection for free world shipping displays a disturbing stubbornness that may harm the unity of the West. It is time, Mr. Speaker, for the Government and the people of Japan to take on a larger responsibility for protecting the way of life that they enjoy and share with the rest of us.

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LAST STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring to your attention, and the attention of all my colleagues, a commentary that recently appeared in the Civil Rights Journal regarding President Reagan's final State of the Union address. Contrary to the content of the address, the facts show that Reagan has exhibited persistent irresponsibility in managing this Nation during his 8-year tenure.

Our Nation has witnessed an era in which Reagan has continued to mortgage our future and our children's future with quantum increases in defense funding and simultaneous decreases in taxes. His policy translated into a greater and greater Federal deficit while he continued to call for a balanced budget. He added insult to injury by attaining the distinction of the President with the largest personal staff in the history of our country.

Moreover, his huge cuts in social spending have led to the greatest chasm between the haves and have nots in this Nation since the Great Depression. We should all be outraged that our President could speak of rising jobs and incomes without recognizing the plight of the poor. Not only has Reagan's administration done little to aid the ever-growing homeless population, it has slashed Federal spending on employment and training programs for the economically disadvantaged by 50 percent since 1980.

In foreign policy, Reagan hid behind a wall of rhetoric and inaction when he preferred to condone legally sanctioned racism and brutality in South Africa with resisting the "Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986." Moreover, his administration bypassed the Government structure handed down by the founding Fathers with its illegal actions in the Iran-Contra affair.

Reagan has also ignored the growing crisis facing our children with his boasts of reducing drug abuse while he refused to take a stand against nations that export this poison to our

shores. His inaction on combating the deadly AIDS disease that is contaminating our maternity wards and in addressing infant mortality rates in our inner city communities that are higher than most developing countries is a testament to his lack of dedication to our youth. Our President has also chosen to cut Federal aid to education versus devising ways to help those children that our educational system ignores.

With these actions, Reagan has set improper moral tone in this Nation where racial violence is on the rise. This country has witnessed the resurgence of injustice with such situations as the assault of youths in Howard Beach and, more recently, the rape of 15-year-old Tawana Brawley in Wappinger Falls.

As the Reagan administration moves toward a close, I am, therefore, honored to present the following commentary exposing President Reagan's camouflage of the facts in his last formal address as President of our country:

CIVIL RIGHTS JOURNAL—COMMENTARY No.
320—THE STATE OF THE UNION?

(By Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr.)

As I listened to President Reagan deliver his final State of the Union Message, I wondered if he was really talking about the United States. It is a tradition for all presidents to use, as a centerpiece of their state of the union messages, many laudatory comments about the accomplishments of their administrations.

For millions of African Americans, Latino Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans and many white Americans, Mr. Reagan's speech not only missed the mark, but also presented a chilling reality: the poor and the downtrodden are no longer envisioned as part of what Reagan termed "the flowering of American prosperity and freedom."

It is not that the President's speech writers forgot to include in the address a challenge to the nation on the growing racial crisis. It is, rather, that the speech was intended to camouflage the resurgence of overt and violent racism which is spreading across this nation.

It is not that Mr. Reagan forgot that his administration divergent but harmonizing communities were a reflection of a deeper community of values—the value of work, of family, of religion—and of the love of freedom that God places in each of us and whose defense He has entrusted in a special way to this nation.

Mr. Reagan is convinced that this nation is destined by God to rule over the rest of the world. Yet, the God of Justice and Creation demands not pious and elitist affirmations of manifest destiny, but rather, justice, freedom and peace for all of God's people in not one but in all of the nations of the world. Until the United States and its leadership repents for past and present sins of injustice, the attempt by Reagan to use God to justify evil actions will only lead to further domestic and international turmoil.

Of course, 1988 will offer the nation an opportunity to change its present course. The extent to which all eligible voters go to the polls and vote in record numbers for candidates who dare to take a stand for justice and freedom for all people of the world is the extent to which this nation can become a true moral force in the world.

CHILD CARE ISSUE EMERGES AS FOCUS OF LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS

HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has experienced a dramatic shift in demographics over the last 30 years. Today, the numbers of single parents, teen parents, working mothers, families in which both parents work, households headed by women, and poor children are higher than they have ever been, and the numbers continue to grow. The importance of child care in a family's ability to participate and to stay in the work force is crucial, and the demand for child care services is skyrocketing.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention an article that recently appeared on the front page of the Washington Post, entitled: "Child Care Issue Emerges as Focus of Legislative Efforts." One of the important points made by the article is that the goals of increasing the supply of child care services and of providing some kind of support for these services are goals shared by a wide variety of people. Members of Congress of both parties, in both Houses, members of the administration, representatives of labor groups and of business groups, Presidential candidates and academicians agree that day care is an issue that needs to be addressed.

I would like to insert the article in the RECORD at this point, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 8, 1988]

CHILD CARE ISSUE EMERGES AS FOCUS OF LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS

(By Cindy Skrzycki and Frank Swoboda)

The growing number and influence of working mothers has given rise to a potent, family-centered political constituency that has catapulted child care support high up on the nation's legislative agenda.

"The issue is taking on a momentum that's making it virtually irresistible," said Jerry Klepner, legislative director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. "It's very possible to get a bill through the Congress and to the president this year."

Not since 1971, when President Richard Nixon vetoed a major child care initiative, has the issue received so much attention. Legislation is moving through Congress aimed at increasing the availability of public and private day care facilities. Although there are political differences about how to increase child care support, the goal is one of the few that Republican and Democratic lawmakers appear to agree on.

A major part of the new-found support for the issue comes from the demographic power of the baby boom generation. The issue of who will mind the children while mother is at work is one that has long vexed single parents and low-income working mothers. But the entry of middle-class working mothers who are as protective of their careers as of their families has given a new momentum to the issue.

Since the 1950s, the number of working women and preschool children has more than quadrupled. Today more than half of

all women with children younger than 6 are now in the work force and by the mid-1990s, two-thirds of all preschool age children are expected to have mothers who work outside the home.

"This has suddenly become the phenomenon that strikes at all economic levels," said Barbara Willer of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, who also believes that employers' concerns about future labor shortages are driving the new-found interest in day care.

Polls document that family issues are fast emerging as a critical domestic issue, with a poll by The Wall Street Journal and NBC news showing that 80 percent of so-called "new collar," or baby boom, workers think government should do more to improve child care and help working parents.

The issue is moving so fast that Labor Secretary Ann D. McLaughlin has set up a special task force to shape an administration position by early March. "Obviously we're on a fast track," a member of the task force said last week.

McLaughlin has broached the subject with both President Reagan and White House chief of staff Howard H. Baker Jr. "It's a percolating issue the administration is going to have to come to grips with," a McLaughlin aide said.

Perhaps the most startling development was the conversion of conservative Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) to the child care issue. Four years ago, Hatch was firmly on record against the federal government directly funding child care. Today, he is key congressional proponent of a national child care policy with a bill of his own. He still thinks children are better off if a parent stays at home, but child care now is his "number one legislative issue."

Observers note, however, that while there is growing momentum for action on the child care front, there is a lack of focus on how to proceed.

"My nose tells me there is a powerful interest in how we raise the next generation, but that does not translate neatly into compelling popular support for specific programs that are largely funded and defined by the federal government," said Ralph Whitehead, Jr., a professor at the University of Massachusetts who has studied baby boomers and work and family life.

There is a growing bipartisan agreement, however, that something needs to be done to increase the number of day care centers—now estimated at 63,000 licensed facilities nationwide. This is particularly true in the House where a package of labor bills ranging from mandated health insurance and parental leave to increasing the federal minimum wage are the only new items on the legislative agenda. Almost all other bills, such as trade, welfare reform and catastrophic health insurance issues, are now before House-Senate conferences.

Family work-place issues have become so pressing that virtually every political group has begun to address them.

House Democrats held a special retreat last month in which family issues, including child care, dominated the discussion. Many at the retreat said they saw so-called "kids issues" as a way to recapture the family issue from the Republicans after Reagan leaves office.

Democratic presidential candidate Albert Gore has gone so far as to promise to convert the White House basement into a child care center for the children of mothers and fathers who work at the executive mansion. "If I'm elected president, child care will

start close to home," the Tennessee Democrat said.

Last month, Republican presidential candidate Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) introduced a child care bill that would replace the current child care tax credit with a program of federal grants to states.

Even among traditionally reluctant business groups, such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, the child care issue has been moved to the top of this year's legislative agenda. This week, the Chamber's board of directors will consider a recommendation for a limited federal approach to child care. Next week, the NAM will take up the issue at a meeting of its legislative leaders.

The issue involves two very different approaches and constituencies:

The Act for Better Child Care Services has become the basic Democratic bill. Sponsored by Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) and Rep. Dale Kildee (D-Mich.), the primary focus of the proposal is affordable child care for low and moderate income families. Federal block grants would be used to provide an incentive for state matching funds. The bill would set federal standards for operating a child care center.

The Child Care Services Improvement Act is the Republican approach that is expected to appeal to business. Sponsored by Sen. Hatch and Rep. Nancy Johnson (R-Conn.), the bill uses a more modest block grant approach than the ABC bill, supplemented by tax credits for employers that establish on-site centers. It also limits the legal liability of child care center operators. Unlike the ABC bill, which targets lower income workers, the Hatch proposal has no income test. Johnson and Hatch plan to introduce a "fine-tuned" version of their proposal Feb. 22.

The Hatch bill deals with more traditional conservative concerns. "The differences between the two bills are pretty stark," Hatch said. "They [backers of the ABC bill] just seem to throw money at it from the top. They will create a huge social spending bureaucracy."

Hatch said, "there's a natural fear by conservatives that this is another big federal program injecting itself into family life."

Dodd rejects the Hatch approach as far as giving tax credits to business is concerned. "My bill is low income, that's where the real problem is. I'll be damned if it should go to people who can afford it already. There's a fundamental difference in the constituencies we're aiming at here," Dodd said.

Despite this tough rhetoric, there already were signs that both sides might be willing to compromise on a child care bill.

A Senate Labor Committee aide said that because of the slim Democratic majority in the Senate there could be no bill unless it accommodates Hatch. "The Hatch bill is a very interesting bill. He put a lot of thought into it," she said.

Hatch agrees there can be no bill without his approval. "There's no way child care will pass without conservative support," he said. "We will have to compromise on this and create a consensus. I intend to do that."

Another key to any eventual compromise will be the absence of any mandated government program.

Neither bill moves in that direction. Currently there is a variety of federal programs that for years have made child care part of an array of options authorized, but not required. The McLaughlin task force at the Department of Labor has identified dozens of programs ranging from the Job Corps to

Aid For Dependant Children that authorize some form of child care.

In addition to the exposure the issue is getting from many of the presidential candidates, organizations such as the Great American Family Tour are trying to generate grass roots pressure in key cities before the March 8 Super Tuesday primary elections. "The road to the White House has to go through family policy issues," said Kathy Bonk, spokeswoman for the tour.

The Family Tour is an effort by Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), Harvard University pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton and Gary Goldberg, producer of the television series "Family Ties" to push family issues during the presidential campaign through speeches, rallies and meetings with local and state officials.

Similarly, The Coalition of Labor Union Women, an AFL-CIO affiliate, will hold a rally on May 14 in Washington to push family policy and legislation.

The expectation of many in Congress and among advocacy groups is that business will play a growing role in meeting day care needs.

Currently, according to estimates by the Conference Board, a business research organization, only about 3,000 companies offer child care options to employees either through centers or through the administration of a federal tax subsidy program. Parents now can deduct a portion of their annual child care expenses. In addition, where a company has established a flexible benefits plan, employees can shelter some of their income for child care expenses.

"The private sector isn't responding creatively at all to a work force of parents instead of a work force of men and a few mothers who occasionally have problems," said Rep. Johnson.

Although business is against any kind of mandated benefits, such as proposed legislation for family and medical leave, its attitude is beginning to change toward accommodating employees with family needs, some analysts say. "I'm sensing that work and family concerns are becoming much more mainstream throughout the corporate culture," said Dana B. Friedman, senior research associate for the Conference Board. About 120 companies are expected to attend a Conference Board briefing this week on what the role of the corporation should be in the debate over child care.

A relatively small number of companies already are providing child care.

The answers on the child care dilemma are not easy for either government or business because almost every work site brings with it a different set of circumstances and solutions.

"It's still a female issue," said Oliver Mann, who operates a day care facility for the Campbell Soup Co. "Poor women always had the child problem. Until middle-class women got into the work place, this was never an issue. It's an equal opportunity issue."

OPINIONS ON CHILD CARE

[In percent]

	Total	Men	Women
Q. Is it your impression that there are enough child-care facilities in this country to provide for current needs, or that there are not enough child-care facilities? ¹			
Enough.....	26		
Not enough.....	53		
No answer.....	21		

OPINIONS ON CHILD CARE—Continued

[In percent]

	Total	Men	Women
Q. The government should develop policies to help make child-care services more available and affordable for these people. ¹			
Agree.....	71		
Disagree.....	23		
No answer.....	6		
Q. Should government do more to provide day care?			
Yes.....	54	51	56
No.....	43	48	39
Q. Should business provide day care? ²			
Yes.....	51	46	56
No.....	39	46	34

¹ Washington Post/ABC News Poll, January 1987.

² Time Magazine, June 1987.

Source: American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

TRIBUTE TO M. GAULT BEESON, JR.

HON. ROBIN TALLON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. TALLON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding citizen from my district, M. Gault Beeson, Jr. "Bunny" as he is called is a dedicated and committed steward of our land and wildlife.

Bunny Beeson is founder and president of Wildlife Action, Inc. In 1977, Bunny Beeson was on a hunting trip with friends along the Little Pee Dee River, they were concerned about the diminishing number of ducks in South Carolina. They talked about the responsibility of each individual to take care of the environment, its wildlife and our nature resources; they decided to form Wildlife Action.

Since its beginning, Wildlife Action has grown from a small group of concerned sportsmen into a diverse group of men and women who share a mutual concern for preserving the natural habitat of wildlife and protecting the environment. In 1986, Beeson decided to sell his sporting goods business and go to work full time for Wildlife Action as a volunteer.

Beeson's enthusiasm and concern are infectious, he has convinced countless others to join Wildlife Action and support the organization's five point law of preservation, conservation, education, sportsmanship and fellowship. I am especially interested in Wildlife Action's ongoing project to protect the Little Pee Dee River and have it be a part of South Carolina's Scenic Rivers Program.

Beeson's involvement in civic affairs is not new, nor is it limited to wildlife action. As a youth, he earned the Eagle Scout award and received the God and Country Award. He later served as a scoutmaster for 15 years. Beeson recognized the need for a sports facility in his hometown of Mullins and organized a group of citizens that ultimately planned and built the Mullins Recreational Complex.

He served for 8 years as chairman of the Marion County Fish and Game Commission, and he was a member of the Governor's Subcommittee for the Land Procurement and Utilization Committee and served as the S.C. Wildlife and Marine Resource Department's

panel for the Habitat Enhancement and Land Protection Act of 1986. He was also a member of the advisory board for the S.C. Wildlife and Marine Resource Department's "Project Wild" Program.

He was recognized by the Marion County Chapter of Wildlife Action as member of the year for 1984 and he received the Preservation Award in 1986 for spearheading a project to preserve acreage for a wildlife refuge in the county.

Beeson was also the recipient of the S.C. Governor's "Take Pride in America" Award in 1986 for his efforts to preserve acreage for a wildlife refuge in Marion County.

Mr. Speaker, we are very fortunate to have Bunny Beeson in South Carolina and the Sixth Congressional District. I applaud his efforts to preserve our land and wildlife for future generations to enjoy. We are grateful to Bunny Beeson and Wildlife Action for their unselfish and tireless work.

WE NEED TO RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO THE HOMELESS

HON. MICKEY LELAND

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. LELAND. Mr. Speaker, we all know homelessness has not disappeared from our streets. The U.S. Conference of Mayors report, "The Continuing Growth of Hunger, Homelessness and Poverty in American Cities", revealed that the average demand for emergency shelter among the cities surveyed, grew 21 percent in 1987; and, that families with children are the fastest growing population among the homeless. Last year the waiting list for public housing reached 1 million and it is estimated that 12 million poor families are in need of help to pay their rent bills.

Over the past 2 years, we have made a conscious effort to aid homeless individuals. The provisions enacted by the omnibus drug bill and the Stewart B. McKinney Act addressed the immediate short-term needs of the homeless. In addition, last December the first housing bill since 1980 successfully passed both Houses of Congress. Unfortunately, the bill did not make up for the 71 percent cut in federally subsidized housing which has occurred over the past 8 years. There is a great need for us to reaffirm our commitment to help the homeless. Present action concerning this issue, however, must focus on providing permanent long-term assistance.

The Affordable Permanent Housing for the Homeless Act of 1988, which I and several of our colleagues are introducing today, would provide decent low-income housing for homeless individuals, families, and handicapped persons within 6 months to a year of the date of its enactment. In addition, the bill helps prevent homelessness by securing housing for individuals and families in imminent danger of losing their homes.

I urge you to lend your compassion and support to this piece of legislation which are vital to the survival of the Nation's neediest poor.

H.R. 2024

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Affordable Permanent Housing for the Homeless Act of 1988".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) homelessness in the United States has reached alarming proportions and has become a national emergency;

(2) not since the Great Depression has homelessness in the United States reached the epidemic proportions that it has reached among major segments of the population;

(3) the homeless population of the United States is estimated to be 3,000,000, and, by all accounts, the number is increasing;

(4) in 1984, the Department of Housing and Urban Development estimated that the average annual increase in the homeless population is 10 percent;

(5) in 1985 and 1986, the United States Conference of Mayors conducted surveys that revealed that the homeless population increases annually by 20 to 25 percent;

(6) the homeless population includes growing numbers of families, single men and women, children, and teenagers;

(7) a significant majority of the homeless are mentally disabled and require specialized facilities and housing;

(8) the dimensions of the homelessness crisis have grown, both in numbers and in scope, beyond the capacity of State and local governments to handle it without Federal participation;

(9) it is in the national interest for the Federal Government to strengthen existing programs and to create new Federal, State, and local cooperative programs to meet the housing needs of the homeless population and to enact measures specifically designed to prevent additional homelessness; and

(10) housing assistance to the homeless should—

(A) seek to provide lasting solutions to the problem of the diminishing number of available affordable housing in the United States; and

(B) make the provision of permanent housing to the homeless a priority.

(b) PURPOSE.—The purpose of this Act is to alleviate homelessness by expanding and preserving the permanent supply of affordable and decent housing.

SEC. 3. HOUSING ASSISTANCE FOR THE HOMELESS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall, to the extent of amounts provided in appropriation Acts, provide financial assistance under the provisions of and amendments made by this Act to expand and maintain the permanent supply of affordable and decent housing.

(b) ELIGIBLE BENEFICIARIES.—All amounts made available under the provisions of and amendments made by this Act shall be used for the benefit of individuals and families who are homeless or are in imminent danger of becoming homeless.

SEC. 4. ADDITIONAL SECTION 8 AND PUBLIC HOUSING ASSISTANCE.

Section 5(c) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(8) ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE HOMELESS.—To provide affordable and decent housing for individuals and families who are homeless or are in imminent danger of be-

coming homeless, the budget authority available under this subsection is authorized to be increased on or after October 1, 1987, as follows:

"(A) SECTION 8 CERTIFICATES.—For assistance pursuant to 5-year contracts under section 8(b)(1), by not more than \$707,375,000, which amount shall be used as follows:

"(i) FAMILIES IN RENTAL REHABILITATION UNITS.—\$565,900,000 shall be for project-based assistance for very low-income families residing in structures assisted under section 17(c). Section 213(d) of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 shall not apply to the allocation of assistance under this clause.

"(ii) FAMILIES IN IMMINENT DANGER OF BECOMING HOMELESS.—\$141,475,000 shall be for assistance for very low-income families in imminent danger of becoming homeless.

"(B) SECTION 8 MODERATE REHABILITATION.—For assistance pursuant to 10-year contracts under section 8(e)(2), by not more than \$480,000,000. Assistance under this subparagraph shall be used in accordance with section 441 of the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, except that not less than 33 percent of the assistance shall be used to assist handicapped homeless persons.

"(C) PUBLIC HOUSING ACQUISITION.—

"(i) IN GENERAL.—For public housing grants under subsection (a)(2) for the acquisition of additional public housing dwelling units, by not more than \$300,000,000.

"(ii) PREFERENCE.—In making grants under this subparagraph, the Secretary shall give preference to public housing agencies proposing to acquire properties that—

"(I) are covered by a mortgage or loan insured under the National Housing Act or guaranteed under chapter 37 of title 38, United States Code; and

"(II) are the subject of a foreclosure proceeding.

"(iii) ALLOCATION.—Section 213(d) of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 shall not apply to the allocation of assistance under this subparagraph.

"(iv) RECAPTURE.—The Secretary shall recapture, and reallocate to other public housing agencies under this subparagraph, any assistance provided to a public housing agency under this subparagraph that is not used to acquire public housing dwelling units before the expiration of the 12-month period beginning on the date the assistance is provided. The Secretary may extend the 12-month period if the Secretary determines that the reason for the delay in the use of assistance is not within the control of the public housing agency."

SEC. 5. RENTAL REHABILITATION GRANTS.

Section 17(a) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(4) RENTAL REHABILITATION GRANTS TO PREVENT HOMELESSNESS.—In addition to the amounts authorized in paragraph (4), there is authorized to be appropriated for rental rehabilitation under this section \$140,000,000 for fiscal year 1988. Amounts provided under this paragraph shall be available only for grants to rehabilitate vacant units to provide housing for homeless families and individuals and families and individuals in transitional housing (as defined in section 422(12)(A) of the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act). The owner of each assisted structure under this paragraph shall agree to give priority to the assisted units to homeless families with children and to maintain the assisted units as

housing available and affordable for very low-income families for not less than 10 years."

SEC. 6. ANNUAL REPORT.

Not later than December 31 of each year, the Secretary shall submit an annual report to the Congress. The report shall include—

(1) a comprehensive and detailed description of the activities carried out and accomplishments achieved under the provisions of and amendments made by this Act;

(2) an assessment of the extent and nature of the lack of affordable housing for homeless families with children;

(3) an assessment of the level of Federal assistance needed to fully meet the housing needs of homeless families; and

(4) any recommendations of the Secretary.

SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.

For purposes of the provisions of and amendments made by this Act:

(1) **HANDICAPPED.**—The term "handicapped" means an individual who is handicapped within the meaning of section 202 of the Housing Act of 1959.

(2) **HOMELESS.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The term "homeless" or "homeless individual" includes—

(i) an individual or family who lacks a fixed, regular, or adequate nighttime residence;

(ii) an individual or family who has a primary nighttime residence that is—

(I) a supervised publicly or privately operated shelter designed to provide temporary living accommodations (including welfare hotels, congregate shelters, and transitional housing for the mentally ill);

(II) an institution that provides a temporary residence for individuals intended to be institutionalized; or

(III) a public or private place not designed for, or ordinarily used as, a regular sleeping accommodation for human beings; and

(iii) an individual or family who is sharing the primary nighttime residence of another individual or family (other than under a shared housing arrangement approved by the Secretary), and whose presence in the residence results in a failure of the residence to comply with space or occupancy standards established by the Secretary for the residence or for dwellings of similar size and design.

(B) **EXCEPTION.**—The term "homelessness" or "homeless individual" does not include any individual imprisoned or otherwise detained pursuant to an Act of Congress or a State law.

(3) **IMMINENT DANGER OF BECOMING HOMELESS.**—The term "imminent danger of becoming homeless" means subject to a notice of eviction.

(4) **SECRETARY.**—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

(5) **VERY LOW-INCOME FAMILIES.**—The term "very low-income families" means families (including families consisting of a single person) whose incomes do not exceed 50 percent of the median family income for the area, as determined by the Secretary with adjustments for smaller and larger families.

SEC. 8. FUNDING AVAILABILITY.

(a) **CALCULATION.**—The amounts authorized in the provisions of and amendments made by this Act shall be in addition to any amount authorized or appropriated for the programs involved before the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) **AVAILABILITY UNTIL EXPENDED.**—Any amount appropriated under an authorization in the provisions of and amendments

made by this Act shall remain available until expended.

SEC. 9. REGULATIONS.

Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall issue any regulations that are necessary to carry out the provisions of and amendments made by this Act and reserve funds under such provisions and amendments.

SOCIAL SECURITY ELIGIBILITY RECONCILIATION VERIFICATION AND INDEPENDENT STATUS ACT OF 1988

HON. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, today I join with CLAUDE PEPPER in introducing the Social Security Eligibility Reconciliation Verification and Independent Status [SERVIS] Act of 1988. This legislation will provide the Social Security system with some new direction and effective management that will ensure its viability.

As we all know, it is extremely difficult for the elderly to get by on the fixed incomes provided by their Social Security benefits. Since the system was first introduced to Americans, it has been the only means of support for many after retirement. It has undergone many changes through the years and has been criticized by some because of the way it has been managed.

Recently, the General Accounting Office reported that management problems in the Social Security system has resulted in over \$58 billion in unallocated benefits to collect in the Social Security trust fund for which SSA is unable to immediately track the respective beneficiaries. These accumulated funds belong to people who have paid Social Security taxes on their earnings throughout their working lives and who have not been accurately credited for the benefits for which they are eligible.

Undercrediting workers' earnings means reduction in their benefits later on. Affected beneficiaries who have had their earnings undercredited face the loss of an average \$17 per month in benefits for which they are entitled. Some beneficiaries may be due as much as \$4,500 in retroactive payments.

The Social Security Administration is not even fully aware of how this problem has come about. SSA conjectures that most of the error is due to employer accounting errors in calculating employee earnings, or entering improper employee identification numbers, or failure of employers to submit any earnings figures at all for their employees' Social Security credit. The problem is due, in part, to the fact that SSA's reporting periods following an annual basis while IRS's reporting schedule follows a quarterly schedule.

Since IRS receives the most complete employee earnings record, SSA should be working with that agency to make sure that their earnings estimates are consistent with IRS. This is not taking place. It has even been determined that some SSA earnings reports had

been sent to IRS by mistake, set aside and forgotten, and were not detected for over a year.

Although some efforts have been made to get at this problem by SSA, little progress has been made. A General Accounting Office report, "More Must Be Done to Credit Earnings to Individuals' Accounts," indicates that the problem is not going to go away unless there is some direction provided. This bill that we are introducing today seeks to do just that.

Most people are unaware that they may be eligible for more monthly benefits than they are receiving. SERVIS will launch a public education campaign to make workers and beneficiaries aware of the earnings crediting problem. It will also help to clear up the backlog of cases in SSA regarding crediting reconciliation. And it will set up a coordinated system between SSA and IRS to avoid future crediting problems.

The second part of this legislation would enable any Member of Congress to raise a point of order against any bill which comes before the House or Senate which would reduce Social Security benefits. Social Security is a system built on confidence. It is a contract between the people and their Government. Political tinkering with the system only leads to a loss of faith in its viability for its participants. Neither the President nor Congress can arbitrarily reduce benefits in the name of deficit reduction and keep Social Security strong at the same time. We want to safeguard the system from the everchanging political tides which, from time to time, see Social Security as a target for deficit reduction. We will do this by making it more difficult for the Congress to reduce benefits.

And last, we are reiterating a position which we have taken in the past two Congresses that the Social Security Administration needs to be an independent agency. SSA, which is a giant agency on its own, should be taken out of the Department of Health and Human Services and given more power over its budgetary priorities. Much study has been given to this proposal since it was first formally brought before the Congress with the Social Security Amendments of 1983. It has since drawn widespread bipartisan support.

I hope all our colleagues can join us in supporting this legislation. We owe it to our constituents to return to them the full benefits they have earned over a lifetime of contributions to the Social Security system. We want the system to work for everyone.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE JOHN JETER HURT, JR.

HON. LINDSAY THOMAS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. THOMAS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would like to spend a few moments today paying tribute to a man whose life had a profound affect on those around him—his family, his many friends, those he worked with, and his fellow members of the Southern Baptist Church.

The man I am speaking of is John Jeter Hurt, Jr. who passed away on February 17, 1988. While Mr. Hurt was never a resident of the First Congressional District and I was only fortunate enough to meet him on just a few occasions, I felt a marked loss with his passing and I know that a great many others also felt a similar loss. His many contributions to his community and his church and his deep commitment to his family and friends is the legacy that he leaves with us to remember him by in the years to come.

Mr. Hurt was born in Conway, AR, the eldest of five children. He graduated from Union University in Jackson, TN, and went on to serve as a reporter and editor for the Associated Press in Nashville, Chattanooga, Memphis, New York, and Atlanta.

Mr. Hurt then moved on to the staff of the Christian Index, the State newspaper of Southern Baptists in Georgia, where he edited the paper from 1947 to 1966. He made immediate changes upon arriving at the paper, cutting out sermons, reporting news, and appealing to "the person in the pew." During his tenure, circulation at the paper increased more than threefold and over the years, other State papers have followed his lead in reorganizing. Later, Mr. Hurt served as editor for the Baptist Standard, the newspaper of Texas Baptists, until retiring in 1977. While at the Standard, he continued his commitment to strong journalism—short, pithy, and to the point.

In addition to his work with the newspapers, Mr. Hurt was a former president of the Southern Baptist Press Association, a former trustee of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and a deacon at Wilshire Baptist Church in Dallas, TX.

More important than Mr. Hurt's long list of important accomplishments and titles is the commitment and dedication that he had for the values and issues that were important to himself, his family and his church. He was willing to stand for the unpopular—challenging what he believed to be wrong and commending what he believed was right. He was not timid in expressing his opinions, whether it be to urge better race relations or voice support for foreign missions or to call for the separation of church and State.

Another passion was his quest for the truth. Mr. Hurt believed in openness for covering stories and was a strong contender for editorial freedom. He demanded efficiency from his staff and would not tolerate anything that was not open and above board. This loyalty and integrity in his professional career carried through in his personal life as well.

He was often referred to as the crusty crusader, a man who demanded the highest of standards and would accept nothing less, but who had a soft spot inside for those in need and a heart that would reach out to anyone. This is a man who had the respect of his colleagues and the love of the family and friends around him.

In closing, I would like to note that Mr. Hurt is the father of my administrative assistant, Bob Hurt. Bob upholds the fine Hurt tradition of integrity, honesty, and diligence, and the First Congressional District of Georgia is indeed fortunate to have had the service of

Bob these past 15 years—10 years with my predecessor, the Honorable Bo Ginn, and with my office for the past 5 years. I know that Bob's family is feeling a great loss right now, but the memories and the accomplishments of John Jeter Hurt, Jr. will stand in time as a tribute to him and help to ease the pain of this loss. My heartfelt sympathies are extended to Bob and his mother, Mrs. Doris Oglesby Hurt, and the rest of the family. While the loss is great, those memories that linger behind are sweet and will help sustain us.

KILDEE HONORS KENNETH J. SMITHEE

HON. DALE E. KILDEE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a person who has dedicated much of his life to improve the quality of life for the people of Michigan, Mr. Kenneth J. Smithee. For the past 21 years, Mr. Smithee has served as the director of the Genesee County Parks and Recreation Commission. In this capacity, Mr. Smithee has worked diligently to preserve and expand the public park system in our community. As a result of his efforts, the citizens of Michigan can better enjoy the natural resources our State has to offer.

Mr. Smithee is widely recognized as an expert in park management and administration. Throughout his career, he has been very active in a number of professional organizations where he has shared his experiences with his colleagues so they can improve their community parks and recreation areas. Mr. Smithee has also spent many years in the classroom where he taught park administration courses at Central Michigan University and Michigan State University. In recent years, he has served as the president of the American Academy for Park Administration, and as president of the board of trustees of the National Recreation and Park Association. Mr. Smithee has also received numerous awards from State and national organizations, including the National Association of County Parks and Recreation Officials, and the Michigan Recreation and Park Association.

It is with great reluctance that we bid farewell to Ken Smithee. However, we in Genesee County consider ourselves extremely fortunate to have benefited from the services of such a highly qualified, and deeply committed individual like Ken Smithee. I take comfort in knowing that Mr. Smithee will continue to share his wealth of knowledge and experience with future park managers when he resumes his teaching career at Arizona State University.

Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Genesee County, and indeed the State of Michigan, are extremely grateful to Mr. Smithee for all he has done to preserve and improve the quality of life for our children, and our children's children. As Mr. Smithee embarks on a new facet of his life, I want to congratulate him on a job well done, and wish him and his family well in their future in Arizona.

WESTHEAD'S LOYOLA SCORES LIKE LAKERS, SOARS ABOVE USC, UCLA

HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate one of the finest college basketball teams in the Nation this season, the Loyola Marymount Lions. The Lions are currently ranked No. 20 nationally by both the UPI and the AP polls and are defending a 17-game winning streak.

I am especially proud of the Lions because Loyola Marymount University is my alma mater. California is home to a number of the most respected teams in college basketball. In the past Loyola Marymount's athletic achievements have often been overshadowed by the achievements of these larger California schools. But this season Loyola Marymount's 20 and 3 record is the envy of every college basketball team in the State.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend Coach Paul Westhead and his Lions for their fast-paced successes on the basketball courts this season. They are helping to bring to Loyola Marymount the attention and recognition that the university has deserved for so long. In honor of their achievements, I ask that an article about the team that appeared recently in the Washington Post be reprinted here in the RECORD.

The text of the article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 17, 1988]

WESTHEAD'S LOYOLA SCORES LIKE LAKERS, SOARS ABOVE USC, UCLA

(By Matt Lait)

LOS ANGELES.—Life at little Loyola Marymount University, perched on a hillside overlooking the lazy harbor of Marina Del Rey, proceeds with the tanned, relaxed nonchalance of other California campuses, until a visitor looks inside Albert Gersten Pavilion and encounters a scene of electric mayhem.

At a school of only 3,500 students, Paul Westhead, who once coached the Los Angeles Lakers to an NBA championship, has fashioned a basketball team averaging more than 108 points a game and signaling a rise in the West of small powers in the ruins of the larger Pacific-10 basketball schools.

Not long ago, the only people who showed up for a Loyola game were parents, girlfriends and the opponent's fans. But, lately, with the Lions leading the nation in points per game, basketball enthusiasts from around the city have waited in ticket lines hoping for a chance to see the team perform its blitz of fast breaks and slam dunks as it defends a 17-game winning streak. At 20-3, Loyola Marymount is one of the few Division I teams already to have 20 victories—and, for the first time ever, has made the wire service ratings, at No. 20 in both AP and UPI polls.

Under Westhead, the program has attracted national attention for its quick-paced, high-scoring style. It is the only style Westhead, a native of Philadelphia, will coach.

It is what made two former Philadelphia starters at the University of Southern Cali-

fornia, Bo Kimble and Hank Gathers, defect to Loyola.

"This is the kind of game I grew up on," Kimble said. "It's like a playground game. To me, it's the only way to play the game."

The two freshmen from Southern Cal looked for another home court after a dispute with incoming USC Coach George Raveling, putting their scholarships in jeopardy. The refugees from USC were soon joined by another Pac-10 starter, Corey Gaines from UCLA.

Faced with talented recruits who threatened to cut into his playing time, Gaines decided to transfer to a school where he could play out his senior year in a program that fit his running style, even if it meant sitting out a year and paying the private school tuition.

"Everybody can see that this is not as big a name school [as UCLA] but nowadays the small schools are doing well because the players are starting to see that it's not where you go but what you do where you go that counts," Gaines said.

"If Coach Westhead was here at the time I came out [of high school] I probably would have gone here, knowing what I know now."

With these three transfers in the starting lineup, Loyola has not lost.

Meanwhile, as this athletically unheralded school basks in Los Angeles' center court, UCLA and USC, the city's larger, more dominant schools, are having dismal seasons, leading many people to say the West Coast is a barren basketball wasteland.

"Unfortunately, the national image of basketball here is poor because two or three of the big hitters are down, but there's a whole bunch of us who are doing real well like [UC] Santa Barbara, [UC] Irvine, and in the past Fresno State. California is a big state," Westhead said.

"I think it speaks not of the weakness of the bigger schools but of strength and power of basketball on the West Coast," he said.

So far, in the West Coast Athletic Conference, Loyola has been unbeatable. The Lions press almost every inbounds play and take defensive chances by overplaying for a steal. On offense they quickly pass the ball upcourt and try to shoot within the first six or seven seconds of a possession.

In the normally moderate-scoring conference, with coaches known for emphasis on defense, Loyola has allowed opponents to score 92 points a game and shoot 52 percent. But the tiring pace eventually wears the opponent down and Loyola has been winning by an average margin of 16.5 points a game.

"We try to get steals, so of course we take gambles and risks on defense and they get a few easy buckets, but they pay for it in the long run by staying with our pace," Gaines said.

Asked how his team would fare against the nationally higher-rated teams, Westhead said, "We'd score in the hundreds and they'd be tired. Whether we would win or not, who knows? But those two things are guaranteed."

In his third year at Loyola, Westhead finds the lure of coaching in the NBA not as important as it once was. "Happiness is when your scheme is working and the players have bought into it," he said.

"Coaches are in it for the thrill of the game . . . so whether you're sitting at the beach because you're an NBA coach waiting for the next game or you're in a high school gym recruiting before the next game, that become irrelevant.

"This team has good quality and excellent commitment to the scheme. They really believe that this running system is invincible," he said.

Indeed, the players and students of Loyola Marymount walk around campus with the proud conviction that "the system" is unbeatable.

"I definitely think we are one of the best teams of the West Coast, if not in the nation," Gathers said. "I think we can run with anybody."

Westhead realizes he has critics who, despite his current success, say his system is too one-dimensional because it does not prepare the team for other game situations. He agrees.

"It's true, it only works if you buy the whole system," he said. "Without buying in like that, it becomes very mediocre." But as long as his players buy it, he's sold that it's the best system around.

"I decided," Westhead said, "not to follow the advice of Ben Franklin, another Philadelphian, who said, 'Don't put all thy eggs in one basket.' Instead, I'm following the advice of Mark Twain, who said, 'Put all your eggs in one basket and watch that basket.'"

H.R. 4033—MEDICAID WORKING POOR FAMILY AMENDMENTS OF 1988

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Medicaid Working Poor Family Amendments of 1988, H.R. 4033. I am joined in sponsoring this bill by Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. WALGREN, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. SIKORSKI, Mr. LELAND, Ms. COLLINS, and Mr. DOWDY of the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment; by Chairman DOWNEY, Mr. FORD, Mr. PEASE, Mr. MATSUI, Mrs. KENNELLY, and Mr. DONNELLY of the Public Assistance Subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means; and by Representative MILLER, chairman of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

This legislation would provide Medicaid and other health care coverage to working poor families for 24 months after they leave welfare. The purpose is twofold: (1) to reduce the number of poor mothers and children who have no public or private health insurance coverage; and (2) to assist low-income families in making the transition from welfare dependency to economic self-sufficiency by assuring mothers that they and their children will have health care coverage even if they take a low-wage job that does not offer health benefits. According to the Congressional Budget Office, about 475,000 families, including about 950,000 children, would receive coverage under this bill.

Except for a new effective date, this bill is identical to the legislation twice approved by the Energy and Commerce Committee last July, first as an amendment to the Family Welfare Reform Act, H.R. 1720, and again last August as an element of the budget reconciliation legislation. This legislation was not included in the text of the welfare reform bill, H.R. 1720, approved by the House on Decem-

ber 17; instead, it was among the provisions in the budget reconciliation bill passed by the House on October 29. Unfortunately, due to an Administration veto threat, the provision was dropped from the final conference agreement on the budget reconciliation act, Public Law 100-203. Although funds for this purpose were assumed in the fiscal year 1988 budget resolution, we are now into a new budget cycle, and reintroduction of this bill is in order.

Under current law, families receiving cash assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC] Program are automatically eligible for Medicaid. If the mother works and her income exceeds the payment standard established by the State, she loses her AFDC eligibility. Generally, she and her children are entitled to an additional 4 months of Medicaid coverage, although in some limited circumstances the family may qualify for a minimum of 9 months of coverage.

Obviously, current policy creates a very strong disincentive for welfare recipients to work. If a mother knows that her children will need medical care and that her employer does not offer health insurance coverage, she will think long and hard before taking a low-paying job that will knock her off AFDC and, after 4 months, Medicaid. CBO gives the example of a mother with one child whose countable income is \$4200, and who lives in a State with an AFDC payment level of \$4800. If this mother works longer hours and increases her income by \$50 per month, she will eventually lose \$50 per month in cash assistance, plus her Medicaid benefits worth \$150 per month. Thus, a \$50 increase in earnings has cost this family \$200, an implicit "tax rate" of 400 percent.

There is no justification for forcing women to choose between taking a job and having health care coverage for their children. Many of the families leaving AFDC go to work in minimum wage or near-minimum wage jobs that do not offer health insurance coverage. After four months, these women—and their children—are stranded. Even if they could afford to buy health coverage, their employer doesn't offer it. The only way they can be assured of health coverage is to quit, reapply for AFDC, and, by receiving cash assistance, qualify for Medicaid again.

Current law also jeopardizes the health of working poor mothers and their children by leaving them uninsured. The new Office of Technology Assessment report "Healthy Children: Investing in the Future," documents the importance of Medicaid and other health insurance coverage in enabling poor children to get access to the basic medical care they need to stay healthy. According to the Children's Defense Fund, between 1982 and 1985, the number of uninsured children grew by 16 percent, from 9.6 million to more than 11 million. Two-thirds of these children live in working families. A small but significant segment of these families were at one point on AFDC but lost their Medicaid benefits shortly after taking a low-paying job without health coverage. It is this portion of the uninsured population that this bill targets.

I would stress that this bill will work whether or not the Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC] Program is modified by pend-

ing welfare reform legislation. Obviously, transitional Medicaid coverage is an essential element to any welfare reform strategy to make families economically self-sufficient. However, families are now leaving AFDC to work at low-paying jobs, and many of them do not get health insurance coverage to replace their Medicaid benefits. We can't allow this disinsurance of low-income families to continue.

It is also worth emphasizing that, under this bill, continuation Medicaid coverage is available only as long as the mother or other caretaker continues to work and report earnings. Unless she is laid off or sick, she will have to continue to report earnings, or the coverage will lapse. This obviously creates a strong incentive for families to remain economically self-sufficient.

According to the preliminary CBO estimates, the cost of extending health coverage to 475,000 working poor families under this bill will be \$40 million in Federal Medicaid outlays in fiscal year 1989, \$175 million in fiscal year 1990, and \$240 million in fiscal year 1991. This investment is among the most effective that the Federal Government can make. It will encourage economic self-sufficiency and reduce medical poverty among working poor families. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

**SUMMARY OF MEDICAID WORKING POOR FAMILY
AMENDMENTS OF 1988**

The bill has two basic elements. It would require States to extend, for 24 months, Medicaid or alternate health care coverage to families who lose cash assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC]—Program due to earnings and who continue to work. States would also be required to extend, for 6 months, Medicaid coverage to families who lose AFDC benefits due to collection of child or spousal support. The bill would be effective with respect to individuals losing AFDC due to earnings or child or spousal support on or after October 1, 1988 (in the case of Texas, with a 2-year appropriations cycle, October 1, 1989). The mechanics of the 24-month coverage for families who lose AFDC due to earnings are as follows.

Initial 6-month Extension.—During the first 6 months after losing cash assistance because of earnings, families would have to be offered the same Medicaid benefits to which they were entitled while receiving cash assistance. States could not impose premiums. This coverage would terminate if the family no longer had a dependent child, or if an individual was terminated from cash assistance due to fraud. If the family earner worked for an employer that offered health insurance coverage, States could, at their option, pay the family's expenses for premiums, deductibles, and other cost-sharing to enroll them in the employer's plan; the State would then pay, through Medicaid, the cost of services that the employer plan does not cover.

Subsequent 18-month Continuation.—During the subsequent 18-month continuation period, families who received coverage during the initial 6-month extension, and who continue to work and have earnings, would have to be offered continuation coverage. At a minimum, States would have to offer these families Medicaid coverage, although they could delete nursing home and other long-term care

services and limit the Medicaid benefit package to acute care services. In addition, States could, at their option, offer these families the choice between basic Medicaid coverage and one or more alternative types of coverage. Finally, States could, at their option, require payment of a monthly premium for such coverage.

States would have the option of offering as many as four different types of alternative coverage in addition to the basic Medicaid benefit package. These coverage alternatives are: First, enrollment in the family's employer's plan; second, enrollment in the State's employee's group health plan; third, enrollment in any basic health care plan a State has established for uninsured individuals generally; or fourth, enrollment in a Health Maintenance Organization that does not otherwise contract with Medicaid. The State would pay any premium required for such alternate coverage; the family would be responsible for all deductibles and copayments, except for maternity care services or ambulatory pediatric care for young children. If a State chose to impose an income-related premium on the family during this period, it could vary the amount of the premium by coverage alternative. One month each year, States would have to offer families the choice of enrolling in another coverage option.

The income-related premium which a State could impose during this period could not exceed 10 percent of the amount by which the family's gross monthly earnings (less child care costs) exceed the amount an individual would earn by working full-time at a minimum wage job (\$581 per month). Premiums would be collected monthly; premium amounts would be adjusted based on quarterly earnings reports.

During this 18-month period, coverage would be terminated for any of the following reasons: First, the family no longer has a dependent child; second, the family fails to pay any required monthly premium; third, the family fails to report earnings in a month and the family earner has not been laid off or ill; fourth, the family's gross monthly income (less child care) exceeds 185 percent of the Federal poverty guidelines (\$1,433 per month for a mother and two children) or fifth, the family earner has terminated from cash assistance for fraud or was subject to sanction. In the case of reporting failures, States would have the option to reinstate coverage if a family reports late.

**TRAGIC SITUATION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST**

HON. MARCY KAPTUR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, the recent rioting and unrest in the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza has prompted a worldwide sense of urgency for an alternative to the violence which has seized Palestinians and Israelis alike these past several weeks. Palestinian aspirations for human rights are passionate and understandable.

Democratic freedoms must ultimately be theirs. Yet we also know that this occupation is a product of a war directed at the destruction of Israel. The State of Israel has the right to exist as well. Yet rioting and violent demonstrations that have claimed the lives of so many, and left so many others seriously wounded, have yielded no permanent solution to this tragic situation.

As a nation, the United States must act in its foreign policy in a way that honors our long-held democratic principles—that is, all people have a right to own property, to be safe in their homes, to raise families without fear, to practice full citizenship with the right to vote and to express their opinions freely, and to have their human rights upheld by the laws and courts of the Nation. If you read the U.S. Constitution and our Bill of Rights, it is to these principles that the United States is devoted at home. We must also practice them abroad in the exercise of our foreign policy.

I represent a district in which Jews, Christians, and Muslims live together. All are equally appalled by the violence and unrest afflicting the peoples of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They realize only too well that there are no victors when peaceful negotiations give way to violent demonstrations and reprisals. Recently, Mr. Speaker, I received letters from several teenage young men and women in my district addressed to President Reagan regarding the tragic situation in the Middle East. I would like to take this opportunity to read one of them. Together, they express so eloquently the hopes and fears which are harbored by all men and women, young and old alike, committed to peace and respect for the human rights which are fundamental and inalienable to all citizens of the world.

DEAR MR. REAGAN: I am a 15 year old girl. The reason I am writing this letter is because of the situation in Palestine. I think we should be trying to stop this and compromise for a solution. Something has got to be done about this, and soon! Please, Mr. Reagan, help solve this problem before it's too late! We need your help to live a happier and safer life!

Mr. Speaker, I ask President Reagan to employ the full powers of his office in assisting the Palestinian and Israeli people to negotiate a peaceful settlement. While it must be kept in mind that any sense of expectation must be tempered by the realization that if there were an easy solution it would have been seized years ago, I urge my colleagues today, Mr. Speaker, to join me in extending our deepest encouragement to Secretary Shultz as he embarks on his important mission for peace and human rights for all people of that region.

**TARGHEE NATIONAL FOREST
LAND EXCHANGE ACT**

HON. RICHARD H. STALLINGS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. STALLINGS. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to introduce today the Targhee National Forest Land Exchange Act. This leg-

isolation will authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to exchange certain lands in the Targhee National Forest. I am very pleased that my distinguished colleague from Wyoming [Mr. CHENEY], is a cosponsor of this important bill.

Recently, I unveiled a plan to help safeguard several areas along the South Fork of the Snake River in Idaho. At the same time, the legislation will give the Grand Targhee Resort an opportunity to acquire additional land expansion and development.

My proposal not only will protect a critical reach of the river from development and ensure its protection for the enjoyment of future generations, but it also will help the economy of many communities in the Upper Snake River Valley.

The plan calls for a major land exchange between the Targhee National Forest and the Grand Targhee Resort, which is located 9 miles east of Driggs, ID, just inside the Wyoming border. The proposal would give the Forest Service an opportunity to seek public ownership of several key parcels of private land adjacent to the Targhee National Forest.

Before I discuss the land exchange proposal and its importance to the people of Idaho, I want to emphasize to my colleagues the broad, bipartisan support this idea enjoys.

Under the proposal, the owner of the Grand Targhee Resort, Mory Bergmeyer, would attempt to purchase several tracts of private property. He then would trade these private parcels to the Forest Service for approximately 270 acres of public land at the base of ski resort.

It is important to emphasize that my legislation does not mandate public or private purchase of any piece of property. I want to make it very clear that my plan is strictly based on a willing seller/willing buyer concept.

Furthermore, it will be the responsibility of the Forest Service to identify those private properties for possible exchange. According to Forest Service officials, only critical fish and wildlife habitat will be considered for the land exchange. Negotiate the purchase price from private landowners.

And it will be up to Grand Targhee officials to negotiate the purchase price with private landowners. I do not plan to play an active role in these negotiations. My principal concern will be to help ensure that this legislation passes and is signed into law.

It also is very important to mention that this proposal was not developed in a vacuum. In putting together the plan, I personally met with local county leaders, private landowners, Grand Targhee Resort officials, the Forest Service, and others to discuss the land exchange concept.

This legislation is necessary because current law prohibits the Forest Service from exchanging lands in different States. The privately owned land is in Idaho and the Forest Service property is in Wyoming. The Targhee National Forest is located in both States.

The South Fork of the Snake River has been identified as one of the most unique and valuable ecosystems in Idaho. Acquisition of these properties will allow land management agencies to preserve fish and wildlife, scenic qualities, and public use of the canyon.

Potential recreational and residential development along the river poses a serious threat to existing resource values. Over the past year, I have heard from many Idahoans who have expressed strong support for public acquisition of certain private properties to protect this magnificent river canyon corridor.

This pristine river is truly one of Idaho's priceless natural resources. The South Fork contains some of the State's most significant wildlife habitat and prime recreational fisheries. I sincerely believe the South Fork is more valuable to Idaho, both as an economic and natural resource, in its undeveloped and natural state.

In addition to protecting the South Fork and its many resource values, economic development is a major cornerstone of my land exchange proposal. As Idaho continues its economic struggle with our natural resource industries, recreation and tourism are becoming a vital, growing part of our economy.

There is a real need to help revitalize both the Teton Basin and Upper Snake River Valley economy. I believe Grand Targhee, under its new ownership, can play a major role in this economic development. The resort also offers many Idahoans with an important employment opportunity.

Grand Targhee Resort officials have advised me they want to develop a quality, year-round destination resort for skiers and others who are looking for a family-style experience. I strongly support their efforts. And so do many other community and business leaders throughout Idaho.

The Grand Targhee Resort is vital to the economy of the Teton Basin. According to Grand Targhee officials and regional economic development specialists, the economic impact of the resort on eastern Idaho is very significant. This proposed land exchange has important economic implications for the entire region.

I also recognize the difficult challenges facing our local county officials as they struggle to find adequate resources to provide a variety of needed public services. My proposal, however, would have little impact on the county tax bases. Most of the private land is currently taxed as wasteland or farmland and generates very little revenue.

The completion of this land exchange will result in a needed economic shot-in-the-arm to the Teton Basin and Upper Snake River Valley. Development of the Grand Targhee Resort and protection of the South Fork of the Snake River could attract thousands of visitors each year to eastern Idaho and help stimulate the economy of many Idaho communities.

This land exchange proposal truly offers eastern Idaho a unique opportunity to resolve a longstanding dispute over the future of the South Fork of the Snake River. At the same time, we can take advantage of a sensible economic development plan which will benefit many Idaho communities. I sincerely believe my proposal represents the best of both worlds.

NATIONAL TRIO DAY

HON. JOSEPH E. BRENNAN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. BRENNAN. Mr. Speaker, February 27 will mark the third observance of "National Trio Day." Congress established this observance to bring attention to the federally supported programs which assure equal opportunity to postsecondary education for young students and adults.

Trio programs—formally called special programs for students from disadvantaged backgrounds include: Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Student Support Services Programs.

In honor of this occasion, I am pleased to express my strong support for my home State of Maine's Trio programs and their commitment to assist the disadvantaged young students and adults. Trio programs provide information to students about college, motivate them to attend college, and help them succeed in college.

Maine's Trio programs served over 3,000 students throughout the State last year. Last year, over 350 high school students were served by Upward Bound. This project targets disadvantaged, low-income students to help them gain the skills and motivation to pursue an educational program beyond high school. Currently, four Upward Bound programs operate in the State of Maine at the University of Maine at Farmington, Bowdoin College, the University of Maine at Orono, and the University of Maine at Presque Isle.

In addition, 1,100 students were served by the Talent Search Program at the University of Maine at Orono. Talent Search encourages youth with postsecondary potential to complete high school and enter college. It also assists adults who have dropped out return to the educational system.

A third program, the Student Support Services Program serves over 1,800 students at programs based on campus at the University of Maine at Augusta, Unity College, Husson College, the University of Maine at Farmington, the University of Maine at Orono, the University of Maine at Presque Isle and the University of Maine at Fort Kent. These programs give students academic support once they are enrolled at the institution. Some of the available services include: Academic counseling, tutorial services, and career counseling.

I congratulate all of the people in Maine who are responsible for making these programs successful. These programs deserve our full support. They have proven to be extremely cost effective. The average cost per Trio participant is \$125 and the overall Trio dropout rate is less than 1 percent. Students from the same background who do not have the benefit of these programs, are twice as likely to drop out of college. The college placement rate for students from Maine participating in Trio programs is 81 percent which is higher than the national average.

We must not cut these projects. If we do, I believe that it will only exacerbate the present trend of declining enrollment of poor and mi-

nority students in postsecondary education. The best avenue for a brighter future is a good education. The Trio programs greatly assist in insuring that educational opportunities are available to needy students. I urge my colleagues to join me in extending strong support for Trio programs on this third observance of National Trio Day.

STATE DEPARTMENT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOCUSES ON NORTHERN IRELAND

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, as the chairman of the bipartisan 118 member ad hoc congressional committee for Irish affairs I wish to place into the RECORD the portion of the report "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1987." That deals with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

I consider the 1987 version of this report dealing with Northern Ireland to be unnecessarily tepid in its discussion of some very serious and ongoing human rights problems that exist in the six northeast counties of Ireland. What is especially of concern to me is the lack of critical editorial comments on the part of the report to some of these practices. In fact there are probably more instances of almost blind support of the British position than anything else.

One example is the section that deals with the use of plastic bullets by security forces in Northern Ireland. The report reads as follows:

Security forces in Northern Ireland continue the controversial use of plastic rounds—PBR's or plastic bullets—for riot control. In recent years, 16 people have been killed by PBR's over half of them under 16 years of age.

In 1984, the European Parliament passed a resolution calling for a ban on PBR use in Northern Ireland. While acknowledging the danger of PBR's the British Government contends they are less dangerous than live rounds. This view was supported in October 1984, when the European Commission on Human Rights dismissed as "manifestly ill-founded" a case involving PBR's ruling that their use was "acceptable" and "less dangerous than alleged."

There is no reference made to legislation that has been introduced since 1984 in the Congress calling for a ban on the use of plastic bullets. There is no discussion about one of the individuals killed by plastic bullets, an unarmed civilian named Sean Downes who was killed in the presence of scores of visiting Americans during a rally in 1986. The question is why?

Similarly this report soft pedals one of the most controversial of all human rights issues in Northern Ireland today—the investigation as to whether the same security force—the Royal Ulster Constabulary practiced a shoot to kill policy against certain civilians in the communities of Northern Ireland. As I have reported in past statements this investigation was initially headed by a Manchester England police official, John Stalker. At about the same time as

his preliminary probe was beginning to show results of culpability, he was removed from the investigation because of a later unproved allegation involving an internal matter within his own police department. Within the last month the Attorney General of Great Britain announced that there would be no further prosecutions of RUC officials with respect to this policy. This evoked an international hue and cry and just today the RUC itself announced that it would conduct its own disciplinary proceedings against certain of its officers alleged to be involved with this policy.

What is the extent of discussion in the State Department report? It is almost as much of a whitewash as the British Government's probe itself:

A number of fatal shootings beginning in 1982 involving members of the RUC and the Army gave rise to allegations including those in Amnesty International's 1987 report that the security forces in Northern Ireland practiced a "shoot to kill" policy when dealing with suspected terrorists. Investigation of these charges resulted in a report, not yet made public by West Yorkshire Chief Constable Colin Sampson to the Director of Public Prosecution for consideration and possible judicial action. The long delay in completing action on the report has stimulated demands for an independent judicial inquiry as well as allegations of a coverup by senior police officers.

Period; end of comment. This in a report concerned with human rights?

The section goes on and on in its perfunctory treatment of human rights problems in Northern Ireland. It glosses over issues pertaining to economic discrimination—which is not only an established fact in Northern Ireland but has prompted the introduction of legislation by Mr. FISH and Senator D'AMATO calling on American firms doing business in Northern Ireland to adopt the Mac Bride principles of fair employment and nondiscrimination. Do you think this report makes even one reference to the Mac Bride principles? Of course not.

In reality, this report makes a mockery of the idea that ours is a consistent and aggressive human rights oriented foreign policy. For this policy to achieve the objectives of its founder and architect, former President Jimmy Carter, there must be consistency in our approach whether a country is a friend or foe. We cannot have selective morality in the enforcement of our human rights policy. We cannot be excuse makers for countries where violations exist. The State Department has displayed a disturbing degree of timidity in dealing with the United Kingdom and their obvious problems with respect to human rights in 1987. This type of timidity cannot and will not lead to positive change, rather an extension of the status quo.

The report follows:

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

The United Kingdom (U.K.) is a constitutional monarchy, with government based on a multiparty, parliamentary democracy. As there is no written constitution, human rights are "residual," i.e., assumed unless limited by statute. Human rights traditionally have been respected and guarded by the British people and their elected governments. The U.K. is a party to the European

Convention on Human Rights and has accepted the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights over cases of alleged human rights violations.

The United Kingdom has a highly developed industrial economy. Persons may own property and pursue their economic interests, and the population benefits from a comprehensive social welfare program. British law bars discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, or political opinion.

Although the United Kingdom has a long tradition of respect for human rights, terrorist activity and sectarian violence in and related to Northern Ireland has, from time to time, put that tradition to the test. Accordingly, while public safety in Great Britain is maintained by a civilian police force, army units back up armed elements of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in Northern Ireland.

On November 15, 1985, the British and Irish Governments concluded the Anglo-Irish Agreement. The Agreement affirms that the status of Northern Ireland will remain unchanged unless a majority in the North decide otherwise and provides for an Intergovernmental Conference in which the Irish Government can advance its views on some aspects of Northern Ireland and North/South affairs. The Agreement also envisages that the Conference will enhance cooperation between the security forces of Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic.

Although intended to safeguard the rights and identities of both communities in Northern Ireland, the Agreement has met with opposition, and paramilitary groups on both sides have continued their campaigns of violence. Reacting against the agreement, Unionist members of Parliament withdrew from the House of Commons. Other Unionists turned to strikes, boycotts, and suspension of work in local councils and the Northern Ireland Assembly. In July 1986, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland halted all work before the end of the Assembly's session. No new elections have been scheduled. Following the 1987 parliamentary elections, Unionist politicians dropped their boycott of the House of Commons, and Unionist leaders entered into talks with government officials.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1.—Respect for the integrity of the person, including freedom from:

a. Political killing

The British Government does not practice or condone killing for political motives.

The Government reported that, during the first 9 months of 1987, 63 persons were killed by terrorists in incidents related to Northern Ireland. Twenty-five were members of the security forces. In May 1987, security forces killed eight armed members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) who were attacking a police station in Loughgall. A civilian was accidentally killed in this battle, making a total of nine people killed by the security forces in 1987. Since 1969, 2,597 persons have died in violence related to Northern Ireland.

Security forces in Northern Ireland continue the controversial use of plastic baton rounds (PBR's or plastic bullets) for riot control. In recent years, 16 people have been killed by PBR's—over half of them under 16 years of age. Only two have been killed since 1982 and no one in 1987.

In 1984 the European Parliament passed a resolution calling for a ban on PBR use in Northern Ireland. While acknowledging the danger of PBR's, the British Government

contends they are less dangerous than live rounds. This view was supported in October 1984 when the European Commission on Human Rights dismissed as "manifestly ill-founded" a case involving PBR's, ruling that their use was "acceptable" and "less dangerous than alleged."

A number of fatal shootings beginning in 1982 involving members of the RUC and the army gave rise to allegations including those in the Amnesty International's 1987 Report, that the security forces in Northern Ireland practiced a "shoot-to-kill" policy when dealing with suspected terrorists. Investigation of these charges resulted in a report, not yet made public, by West Yorkshire Chief Constable Colin Sampson to the Director of Public Prosecution for consideration and possible judicial action. The long delay in completing action on the report has stimulated demands for an independent judicial inquiry, as well as allegations of a coverup by senior police officers.

In April 1987, the Government announced a decision to draft, publish, and bring into force a code of practice for the exercise of emergency powers by the RUC and armed forces in Northern Ireland. The code, expected to be published soon, will address the emergency powers available to the RUC and the armed forces and how they should be exercised.

b. Disappearance

Government authorities do not abduct, secretly arrest, or hold persons in clandestine confinement, nor do they sponsor or condone such activities.

The Government reported that during 1987 over 50 persons were abducted or illegally held hostage in terrorist and other incidents related to Northern Ireland.

c. Torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment

British law forbids torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment of prisoners and provides penalties for such abuse. Confessions obtained by such methods are not admissible as evidence in court.

Government policy seeks to prevent abuse of prisoners. In January 1986, the Government put into effect a new Code of Practice for the police in Great Britain, with provisions for disciplinary action.

The Police (Northern Ireland) Order of 1987, which was approved by Parliament in May 1987, provides for reform of police complaints procedures in Northern Ireland broadly in line with changes which were introduced in England and Wales in 1985. The new procedures are expected to go into effect in 1988 with the establishment of the Independent Commission for Police Complaints. The new commission will have powers to approve officers, including those drawn from other police forces in the United Kingdom, to investigate complaints. In 1987 there were no substantial charges of mistreatment of arrestees during interrogation in Northern Ireland.

The Government acknowledges that some old British prisons are unsatisfactory and that many prisoners live in cramped, unhygienic cells. To improve conditions, the Government has embarked on a program to build 20 new prisons and to refurbish existing ones.

In Northern Ireland, where 60 percent of the prisoners are jailed for terrorist activities, prison conditions differ in some respects from those in Great Britain. All prisons in the province, except for the two centers for young offenders, are maximum-security institutions. This often forces low-

risk common criminals in Northern Ireland to serve their sentences under maximum-security conditions. On the other hand, Northern Ireland prisons are generally more modern—five of Northern Ireland's prisons have been built since 1970—than those in Great Britain. Northern Ireland prisoners also have visitation, mail, and clothing privileges not available to those in mainland prisons. In the last several years, two new prisons with an extensive range of educational and training facilities have been opened, and the old prison in Armagh was closed. Community service programs for certain offenders as an alternative to prison have been very successful. Northern Ireland's prison population grew by less than 1 percent in 1987.

Complaints continue about "strip searching," particularly of women, in Northern Ireland prisons, and Amnesty International, in its 1987 Report covering 1986, urged the Government to reconsider its policy. These searches involve a visual inspection conducted in special cubicles by female officers. Body cavity searches are not performed. Strip searching is routine for prisoners on first committal and final discharge and when making home visits. It is conducted on a random basis for prisoners making court appearances for leaving the prison temporarily for any reason. Since prisoners who are on remand (awaiting trial) are brought to court every 8 to 28 days, they face the possibility of more frequent strip searching than those who are sentenced. The Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights determined that strip searches remain necessary to protect the well-being of guards, prisoners, and the community at large. But the commission also stated that strip searching is conducted too frequently. All visitors to prisons, including government officials, are subject to a "rub-down search." This involves an officer passing his or her hands over the visitor's clothing. Visitors are not strip-searched. Strip searching is also conducted at prisons located in other parts of the United Kingdom.

Britain has ratified the Council of Europe Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons, by which prisoners may be sent to their home countries to serve their sentences. Within the United Kingdom, convicts are almost always required to serve their prison time in the general region where the crime was committed. Transfers can, however, be requested. Prisoners from Northern Ireland, for example, who are serving time in Great Britain can apply for transfer to Northern Ireland to serve their sentences closer to their families. Several such requests were approved in 1987.

d. Arbitrary arrest, detention, exile, or forced labor

British law gives the police broad discretionary powers to make arrest without warrant based on reasonable cause. Procedures for bail, judicial determination of the legality of detention, and suits for false imprisonment are routinely utilized.

Persons arrested without a warrant must be released on bail if they cannot be brought before a magistrate's court within 24 hours. Generally, persons charged with nonserious offenses can be released on bail. However, in some cases where the alleged offense is deemed serious, magistrates have repeatedly remanded persons for periods totaling up to 18 months before trial. In 1987 some 11,000 persons (roughly 20 percent of the prison population) were on remand. The average length of time between first remand and trial in scheduled cases in Northern Ire-

land declined steadily between 1984 and 1987, and the Emergency Provisions Act of 1987 gave the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland authority to specify maximum time limits for particular pretrial stages; this authority has not yet been utilized. The Home Secretary announced in late 1987 his intention to consider a similar system to help limit time on remand for detainees in England and Wales.

British common law allows for the restriction of personal liberties by the Government in an emergency situation, subject to review by Parliament. Acting on the premise that the fundamental "right to life" has been in serious jeopardy due to the violence in Northern Ireland, the Government has adopted the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Acts of 1978 and 1987, which are applicable only to Northern Ireland; and the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1984 (originally enacted in 1976), almost all of which is applicable to the entire United Kingdom. Although both these acts permit the restriction of personal liberties, they are subject to parliamentary review and to mandatory renewal at frequent intervals. In addition, Lord Colville was appointed in 1987 to provide Parliament with an annual independent assessment of the operation of the acts.

The 1984 Prevention of Terrorism Act allows the police to arrest without warrant persons anywhere in the United Kingdom whom they reasonably suspect to be involved in terrorism. Such persons may be detained for up to 48 hours without judicial review and up to a further 5 days on the authority of the Home Secretary. In recent years, the powers of the Act have been used when persons were suspected of acts of terrorism related to Northern Ireland, India, and the Middle East.

In September 1987, the European Commission on Human Rights recommended that, in the case of two men detained in 1984 under the Prevention of Terrorism Act's 7-day maximum detention period, the British Government respond to charges it had violated the requirement contained in the European Convention on Human Rights that a person should be brought "promptly to court." The Government quickly announced its intention to contest the Commission's findings before the European Court of Human Rights.

Under the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act of 1978, the R.U.C., for the purpose of arresting anyone under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, may enter and search without a warrant any place where that person is or where the police reasonably suspect him of being, and may detain such persons for up to 72 hours on their own authority. The Act provides similar authority in connection with the arrest of persons suspected of having committed, or being about to commit, a "scheduled" offense (i.e., one listed on a schedule attached to the law). Also under this Act, members of the armed forces on duty may arrest without a warrant any person suspected of having committed or being about to commit any offense. Such persons can be held for up to 4 hours, after which they must be transferred to police custody or released. Allegations that these limits have been exceeded by the police or the armed forces have not been substantiated.

In Northern Ireland, pursuant to the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Emergency Provisions Act, arrested persons have the right to a lawyer after 48 hours in detention. Some human rights ac-

tivists charge, however, that the 48-hour rule is not always followed.

An independent review of the 1978 Emergency Provisions Act by Sir George Baker, published in April 1984, concluded that its provisions were still necessary. The 1987 act implemented a number of Baker's recommendations and provided further rights and safeguards for persons detained under emergency legislation. On the authority of a senior police officer and if specified conditions are met, the exercise of these rights may be delayed for a maximum of 48 hours.

British legal practice provides for the indeterminate detention of minors convicted of murder. In Northern Ireland, where public attention has focused particularly on this issue, there are 41 persons serving such sentences.

There is no forced or compulsory labor.

e. Denial of fair public trial

Fair trial is guaranteed by law and observed in practice. All criminal proceedings must be conducted in public, with the exception of juvenile court cases and cases involving public decency or security. In a trial on charges under the Official Secrets Act, the court may be closed at the judge's discretion, but the sentence must be passed in public. A national independent prosecution service was established in 1985, extending to England and Wales a system introduced to Northern Ireland in 1972, which provides greater consistency in determining which cases are to be prosecuted.

Juries hear all cases not covered by anti-terrorist legislation; these constitute the majority of criminal cases. In Northern Ireland, the right to trial by jury was suspended for certain terrorist-related offenses because the possibility of the intimidation of witnesses and juries raised serious questions about the ability of juries to render impartial verdicts. The nonjury ("Diplock") courts were established by legislation in 1973 as a means of dealing with terrorist activity in Northern Ireland. The Government remains committed to the use of jury trials whenever possible, and the 1987 Emergency Provisions Act gives the Lord Chancellor the power to determine if specific "scheduled offense" cases can be heard outside the Diplock system.

Persons convicted by a Diplock court have an automatic right of appeal of conviction or sentence to a three-judge Court of Appeals, a right not granted to defendants tried before a judge and jury. Historically, the rate of conviction in Diplock courts of defendants who have pleaded not guilty is similar to that of defendants tried before juries. Judges in Diplock courts must publish written explanations of their decisions. Nonetheless, there is support for a court system in which three judges (instead of one) would preside over trials when a jury trial is deemed impossible. The Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights has endorsed a change to a three-judge system, coupled with a sizable reduction in the number of cases heard by Diplock courts.

The recent reversals on appeal of several convictions in earlier terrorism cases have limited the Government's ability to obtain convictions based on uncorroborated evidence by convicted terrorists ("supergrasses"). Although there were no "supergrass" trials in 1986 or 1987, the issue remains controversial. The evidence of an accomplice has always been admissible in British courts, but in nonjury courts the judge alone must decide whether the evidence of the "supergrass" is credible, bearing in mind the danger of convicting on uncorroborated

evidence. The British Government continues to maintain that the use of "supergrass" testimony is important in the legal fight against terrorism. Critics assert such testimony places too great an emphasis on assessing the credibility of a single witness.

The Criminal Law Jurisdictions Act, enacted by both the British Government (1975) and the Irish Government (1976), permits trial in the Republic of Ireland, in Northern Ireland, or in Britain of those accused of certain terrorist offenses, regardless of where the offense was committed.

f. Arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home, or correspondence

The right of privacy is well respected in both law and custom.

Warrants are generally required for a police search of private premises. However, under the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act of 1978, any member of the armed forces on duty or any constable may enter any premises or other place, if he or she considers it necessary to do so to preserve peace or maintain order. Changes in the 1987 Emergency Provisions Act now require a standard of "reasonable grounds of suspicion" before a dwelling can be entered.

b. Freedom of peaceful assembly and association

Except in cases of extreme civil disorder, in which public safety is judged to be at risk, the authorities do not exercise their statutory right to limit the freedom of public assembly. However, some critics believe that the 1986 public order law gives police too much discretion to restrict public assembly.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1984 and the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act of 1978 include sections prohibiting membership in, or support of, organizations (Loyalist and Republican) involved in terrorism. These organizations are specifically listed in the statutes. The lists do not include political parties, even those, such as the Provisional Sinn Féin, which have close links to terrorist paramilitary organizations and openly support violence.

The summer "marching season" in Northern Ireland presents special problems. Because these Unionist marches commemorate the traditions of opposing sectarian communities, they are controversial and can be a source of public disorder. The RUC must be notified of all marches and may impose conditions, including rerouting, on the organizers. Although the Unionist community threatened to defy new laws regulating marches and processions, the 1987 marching season saw a noticeable reduction in violence, compared to recent years.

In Northern Ireland, the Constitution Act of 1973 specifically prohibits discrimination on the basis of religious belief or political opinion.

There is no religious or denominational bar to the holding of public office except in the case of the Sovereign, who must be a member of the Church of England.

d. Freedom of movement within the country, foreign travel, emigration, and repatriation

In general, U.K. citizens enjoy freedom of movement within the country and in foreign travel, emigration, and repatriation.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1984 includes one exception to this general principle. The Act gives the Home Secretary the authority to exclude or prevent from entering mainland Britain anyone he believes

may be connected with terrorism related to Northern Ireland, unless that person was born in Great Britain or has been ordinarily resident there for 3 years. Similar authority is granted to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to exclude persons not native to or resident in that province. Only one person has been excluded under this law since 1984. Nevertheless, these powers have been referred to by many, including the National Council for Civil Liberties, as a system of internal exile.

Section 4.—Governmental attitude regarding international and nongovernmental investigation of alleged violations of human rights.

The Government generally maintains an open attitude toward international inquiries into alleged violations of human rights in the United Kingdom. It cooperates fully with the European Commission on Human Rights in investigations of complaints and has taken steps to rectify its own laws and policies when they were found not to be in conformity with the European Convention.

The United Kingdom is a party to several human rights conventions, participates in international and regional human rights bodies, and is the host country to international nongovernmental human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International.

Section 5.—Discrimination based on race, sex, religion, language, or social status.

British law bars discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national or ethnic origin. However, statistical studies have shown a black unemployment rate that is nearly double that of whites, black concentration in manual jobs, and racial discrimination in job recruitment. In 1984 a Code of Practice on Employment, proposed by the Commission for Racial Equality and accepted by the Government, took effect. Although the code does not have the force of law, it is used as a standard of good practice by industrial tribunals in racial discrimination cases and serves as a guideline for firms in eliminating all forms of discrimination.

Equal status and equal opportunity for women in professional fields is also provided by law. Enforcement mechanisms have been established, and progress toward women's equality is visible in many areas, including government hiring. Still, women have yet to achieve fully equal status. They hold three-quarters of Britain's lowest paying jobs, and the average female wage-earner takes home only three-quarters the pay of her male counterpart (up from 63 percent in 1970). Equal Opportunity Commissions were established in Great Britain in 1975 and in Northern Ireland in 1976 to assist in the enforcement of these laws.

Historically, in Northern Ireland, the majority Protestant community has controlled much of the local economy and been more prosperous than the Catholic community. The reasons for this are complex and involve a long history of anti-Catholic discrimination by Protestants.

Since 1972, when direct British rule was introduced in Northern Ireland, specific measures have been taken to combat religious discrimination against Catholics. These include: reform of the electoral rolls; prohibition of religious or political discrimination by any level of government; establishment of a Commissioner for Complaints to deal with grievances against local government; appointment of a Central Housing Authority to meet the problem of discrimination in housing; prohibition of discrimina-

tion in employment; and a special effort to recruit more Catholics into the civil service and the police. In addition, the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights was established in 1973 to monitor human rights. Since 1976 the Fair Employment Agency has served as the focal point of the Government's efforts to end job discrimination. In July 1987, the Government announced a substantial increase in the resources available to the Fair Employment Agency, and a revised government guide to employment practice was issued in September 1987 to prepare employers to comply with new equal employment legislation currently under consideration in Whitehall. Within the Northern Ireland civil service, the proportion of Catholics reflects their proportion in the overall population for those under age 35. In upper age groups and in the security forces, Protestants still dominate.

PIRA assassinations and death threats have largely stymied government efforts to recruit Catholics into the police force and security-related fields. PIRA has carried out a terror campaign not only against police officers but also against persons who provide services to the security forces. For example, since 1973, 26 prison staff members have been murdered while off duty, and in 1987 the PIRA murdered a man who had been teaching prisoners.

The unemployment rate in Northern Ireland is substantially higher than that in the United Kingdom as a whole and continues to be on average twice as high for the minority Catholic population as for Protestants. The number of manufacturing jobs in Belfast has dropped by about 50 percent in the last 10 years. With few job openings in the private sector, it has been difficult to make progress toward ensuring that the work force mirrors the religious composition of the community. The Government is trying to attract more investment to the province and is subsidizing the economy through public sector spending. Northern Ireland's shrinking economy makes this a necessary part of ending discrimination. The new International Fund, organized in support of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, is expected to inject a certain amount of capital into areas affected by violence and encourage job creation.

MEDICAL ETHICS QUESTIONS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert my Washington Report for Wednesday, February 24, 1988, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

MEDICAL ETHICS QUESTIONS

Medical researchers have made breathtaking advances in treating illness and injury, preventing disease, and creating tools to help doctors bring the benefit of scientific advances to patients. Doctors today can save the life of a premature baby or a brain-damaged adult who, only a few years ago, would have died instantly. But this ability to preserve life is creating new and disturbing questions for health care policy. The knowledge and technological ability that make modern medicine exciting increasingly

demand that doctors, patients, relatives, the courts, and society make agonizing decisions.

Today, the search for an appropriate medical treatment often presents a set of choices, rather than a clear answer. I find Hoosiers asking questions about the ethics and economics of health care with greater frequency. Here are some of the questions that have arisen in my public meetings:

May terminally ill patients receive a doctor's help to hasten death? Some patients have expressed their desire to die immediately, rather than endure more pain before death. California may soon vote on a referendum to allow doctors to legally administer a fatal overdose to any terminally ill patient who requests it. The American Medical Association (AMA), however, believes that no physician should "intentionally cause death," even at the patient's request.

What rights does a patient have to refuse medical treatment, including food and water? If the patient is not mentally alert, who decides? In 1976, Karen Ann Quinlan's parents won a court battle to disconnect her life-support machines. Today, courts routinely grant family requests to have artificial life-supports turned off. The AMA argues that a doctor may discontinue "all means of life-supporting medical treatment," including intravenous food and fluids for terminally ill or comatose patients. The courts have been less receptive to requests from mentally competent but physically helpless patients that medical treatment, including food and water, be stopped. Many states are enacting living will laws, which allow a person to specify in advance certain types of medical treatment they would prefer to forgo.

Should we use animal organs in human patients? The case of Baby Fae, who was implanted with a baboon heart and lived for several weeks, received worldwide attention. Research animals have long been used to test drugs and medical devices which can help great numbers of people. Some animals, like the chimpanzee, are potential organ sources, but they are also invaluable in research efforts to find cures for diseases like AIDS. Do we have the right to sacrifice an animal to save only one person? Is it "dehumanizing" for humans to receive animal organs?

Should we ration health care? Some countries have already made this decision. In Great Britain, for example, kidney dialysis and transplants are denied to anyone over age 55. Because of advances in medical science, providing the best available medical care can be prohibitively expensive. The Oregon legislature last year decided that the state's limited health care dollars would be better spent providing prenatal care to 1500 low-income women than in funding organ transplants for 30 patients. New mothers and their infants will benefit; those needing transplants may die. Most of us recoil at the thought of rationing health care. Our preference is to focus instead on the waste in the health care system. But restraining costs while providing the best medical care for everyone is becoming increasingly hard to achieve.

May doctors and nurses refuse to treat AIDS patients? The AMA says no. The courts have not yet ruled on the issue. Doctors have traditionally placed the welfare of patients first. In the days before vaccines, countless physicians died of tuberculosis, small pox, and other ailments contracted from patients. The majority of doctors are willing to risk contact with AIDS victims,

but the fear of contracting AIDS while providing medical treatment is real.

Should there be two levels of health care: one for the well-off and one for low-income persons? An estimated 37 million Americans, not poor enough to receive government-paid health care, have no form of health insurance at all. Yet critics charge the government subsidizes more than adequate health care for middle- and upper-income people in the form of tax-free health benefits offered by employers. This subsidy cost taxpayers some \$35.5 billion last year. The ideal is to provide the finest available health care to every person, but the reality often falls short. Many believe that the U.S. needs a comprehensive health care policy to provide guidelines for allocating limited medical resources.

How much claim do the new "technology" parents—the egg donors, surrogates, and sperm donors—have to the children they help produce? We remember Baby M and the efforts of her natural mother to retain custody despite the surrogacy contract with the child's father. Many states are considering legislation to regulate surrogacy. Some people believe that any technique to create life outside the body is wrong. Test tube babies and children conceived by other artificial means will continue to be born, and some biological parents will insist on contact with the children they helped bring into the world.

These questions challenge the wisdom of Solomon, and in no small degree require that people play God. I do not pretend to have the solutions; I am not even sure of my own feelings on many of these issues. I do find Hoosiers struggling with these and similar questions. My thought is that these issues are too personal and have too many implications to be resolved by traditional methods of government action. Answers to these questions must be based on personal experience and beliefs. It seems to me that legislators and policymakers must approach these questions with great caution. Acceptable resolutions are more likely to come from the grass roots level, and not be imposed by government fiat. Public awareness of these issues needs to increase, and public involvement will be crucial in reaching satisfactory solutions.

(Much of this information was taken from an article which appeared in the Washington Post.)

INTRODUCTION OF FISH AND WILDLIFE CONSERVATION ACT REAUTHORIZATION

HON. GERRY E. STUDDS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. STUDDS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to reauthorize the Fish and Wildlife Conservation Act for an additional 2 years. This act is designed to promote the conservation of species of fish and wildlife that are neither hunted or fished or, alternatively, protected under the Endangered Species Act.

These nongame species make up the vast majority of the Nation's fish and wildlife, and in many States include songbirds, bobcats, flying squirrels, river otters, and lynx. They provide countless hours of recreation and en-

joyment each year to birdwatchers, hikers, wildlife photographers, and conservation groups. The Fish and Wildlife Service estimates that over 93 million Americans enjoy activities related to these species and spend over \$1 million annually in the process. However, there is a paucity of information on the well-being of these species; less than 10 percent of the vertebrate species of fish and wildlife in this country receive any specific attention by our wildlife managers.

Increased attention to these species will identify those whose populations are in decline before they are so critically low that they need to be protected under the Endangered Species Act. The Fish and Wildlife Conservation Act provides funding for the States, through a partnership with the Federal Government, to develop management plans for nongame species of wildlife. When the plans are approved by the Secretary of the Interior, the States become eligible for partial reimbursement of the costs of developing and implementing these plans.

While it is, of course, absurd to expect that individual plans will be—or should be—developed for all of the many species that surround us, it is equally shortsighted not to plan special efforts for those populations of birds, fish, and other wildlife in need of some level of protection. The purpose of this act is to authorize and promote such efforts; it deserves both reauthorization and funding.

Unfortunately, Federal funds have never been appropriated. I intend to hold a hearing on this legislation in March to examine other potential funding sources for this program and to determine how other wildlife programs such as the wildlife conservation provisions of the Food Security Act of 1985 and the Migratory Bird Program benefit these nongame species.

I look forward to renewed efforts on behalf of our nongame populations to complement our impressive efforts on behalf of game birds and other wildlife, and to examine alternative funding sources for these efforts.

REMEMBERING ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. THOMAS J. MANTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. MANTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Estonian Declaration of Independence. For Americans, Independence Day is a day of celebration. We mark the day with fireworks and family gatherings to celebrate our good fortune and to give thanks for the rights and privileges we enjoy as a free people. For the people of Estonia however, Independence Day is a very different kind of occasion.

Mr. Speaker, Estonia formally declared its independence 70 years ago this week. Within 2 years the League of Nations officially recognized the Baltic country as a sovereign nation and admitted Estonia to its ranks. For the following 20 years, Estonia thrived economically, socially, and culturally and was signatory to a host of international treaties and accords.

Ironically, the Soviet Union, the first country to legally recognize Estonia as an independent

nation, stole Estonia's right to self-determination away. In a secret pact in 1939, Hitler and Stalin partitioned Eastern Europe and thereby engineered the end of Estonian statehood. The Nazis agreed to allow the Soviets to annex the three Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, in return for land concession for themselves. The United States did not recognize the Soviet Union's claim to these countries then and will not now.

According to the tenants of the Atlantic Charter, all countries which had independent status before World War II were to have their sovereignty returned to them after World War II ended. However, the Soviets refused to honor this accord. For nearly a decade, freedom fighters in Estonia waged an armed resistance in the hopes of realizing their right to self-governance. The Soviets responded with mass arrests, house searches, executions and mass deportations.

To speak out in Estonia today one must risk a heavy penalty. Soviet gulags and psychiatric facilities are filled with Estonians who have dared to fight for freedom. The crimes they have committed range from asking for the renunciation of the Hitler-Stalin pact to flying the Estonian national flag. But even after decades of occupation and oppression the people of Estonia have not conceded the fight. On August 23, 1987, Estonians staged a large scale demonstration against Soviet rule in the city of Tallinn.

Mr. Speaker, this year is the 200th anniversary of our Constitution. We must also remember that this year marks a milestone for the Estonian people: The 70th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. We must take this opportunity to assure the Estonians that their cause has not been forgotten. We Americans who are so fortunate to live with freedom every day must remember too many people in the world are living without it. The people of Estonia and their families in this country have my support and my prayers that one day soon Estonia will again be a free and independent nation.

AMERICAN HEART MONTH

HON. JOSEPH D. EARLY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. EARLY. Mr. Speaker, this is "American Heart Month." February 1988 marks the 24th consecutive yearly celebration of this event. A joint resolution approved by Congress in 1963 requests the President to annually proclaim February as "American Heart Month."

The American Heart Association [AHA] and its affiliates and over 2 million volunteers dedicate this month to heighten the dissemination of educational materials and to increase public support of its mission. The AHA, one of the world's largest voluntary health organizations, is committed to the "reduction of premature death and disability from cardiovascular diseases and stroke"—our Nation's No. 1 killer.

According to AHA, coronary heart disease, stroke, and related disorders cause almost as many deaths as all other sources combined.

They estimate that annually one out of every two Americans die of cardiovascular diseases and that nearly 65 million suffer from some form of these diseases—over 59 million Americans have high blood pressure, approximately 4.9 million have coronary heart disease; and about 2 million individuals have suffered a stroke. Also, for 1987 AHA cites a figure of over \$80 billion for health costs affiliated with these diseases including doctor and nursing care, hospital and nursing home services, medicines and lost productivity.

For the past 40 years, the AHA, the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute [NHLBI] and also more recently the National Institute of Neurological and Communicative Diseases and Stroke [NINCDS] have worked closely on research, education, and prevention programs to fight cardiovascular diseases. NHLBI's National High Blood Pressure Education Program and its National Cholesterol Education Program represent productive public-private cooperative efforts. They complement AHA's recently implemented "Physicians' Cholesterol Education Program" and its "Heart RX" program designed to assist health professionals teach patients about the risk factors of heart disease, stroke, and atherosclerosis. The risk factors include smoking, raised blood cholesterol, high blood pressure and diets excessive in saturated fat and cholesterol.

As a result of the combined efforts of AHA, NHLBI, and NINCDS progress has been achieved in curbing the mortality rates from cardiovascular diseases. In fact, according to the AHA, from 1976 to 1986 the death rate from coronary heart disease and stroke has declined by 27.9 percent and 40.2 percent respectively. These organizations believe that the future looks even brighter with promising programs on the horizon. Some include the extension of molecular biology into cardiovascular research and more studies into both the relationship between nutrition and cardiovascular disorders; and the effects of behavior, stress, and exercise on these victims.

I welcome this opportunity to commend the American Heart Association's contributions. I urge my colleagues and the public to continue its support of biomedical research so critical for additional scientific achievements in this area.

EXEMPTION FOR SMALL BUSI- NESSES FROM THE BURDEN- SOME UNIFORM CAPITALIZA- TION RULES

HON. HAL DAUB

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. DAUB. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill, H.R. 4020, that will end a burdensome provision for hundreds of small businesses that was contained in the Tax Reform Act of 1986. This provision is commonly known as the uniform capitalization rules from section 263A of the Internal Revenue Code. Within this new rule was an exception for small retailers and wholesalers with gross sales of less than \$10 million. The accepted reason for this exception is that small busi-

nesses are unable to accumulate and account for these costs and should not be burdened with unusually difficult accounting rules and redtape. Unfortunately, small manufacturers were not excepted from the new rules and so are faced with burdensome new rules with which they cannot comply.

My bill is intended to place all small businesses in the same arena and exempt them from the uniform capitalization rules and additional Government redtape.

In general, the uniform capitalization rules require the "capitalization"—as opposed to expensing—of direct costs and an allocable portion of indirect costs attributable to producing and/or acquiring real and tangible personal property used in the taxpayer's trade or business. The costs attributable to inventory must also be capitalized.

To indicate to you just how burdensome and complex these rules are for small businesses, let me list a few examples of the indirect costs that must be allocated and accounted for: repair and maintenance of equipment or facilities; utilities; rental of equipment, facilities, or land; indirect labor and contract supervisory wages; indirect materials and supplies; tools and equipment; quality control and inspection; taxes; depreciation, amortization, and cost recovery allowance on equipment and facilities; administrative costs; insurance; interest; contributions paid to or under a stock bonus, pension, profit-sharing or annuity plan or other compensation deferring plan or employee benefit expenses; rework labor, scrap and spoilage; bidding expenses; engineering expenses and on and on.

Most small businesses are lucky if they can accurately keep track of all of these costs—to capitalize them is simply too much for the Government to ask. This bill is a question of fairness and equity for all small businesses. But I also realize that it is a question of money for the Federal Government. The estimated revenue cost to the Government is \$1.5 billion through 1992. The entire provision raised over \$32 billion, so this cost is but a small fraction of the entire rule. In addition, I want to point out that the revenue estimate assumes that these small businesses will comply with the new complex uniform capitalization rules. I believe that noncompliance will run rampant, not because businesses do not want to comply with the new law, but because accounting and legal fees make it impractical for them to comply. As representatives of these small businesses, we should not overburden them with complex tax laws that encourage non-compliance. I urge my colleagues to come to the aid of these small businesses by cosponsoring my bill, H.R. 4020.

NATIONAL FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA WEEK

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to join with the members of the Future Farmers of America as they celebrate National FFA Week with the theme "FFA—Agriculture's New Spirit."

The Future Farmers of America is a vocational education organization for high school students who are enrolled in vocational agriculture classes in public high schools or area vocational education centers.

Each chapter develops an annual program of activities and each member of the chapter carries out a supervised occupational experience program. The FFA gives recognition to members for achievements at the chapter, district or area, State and National levels. These award programs directly relate to the supervised occupational experience programs. This allows each vocational education-FAA members the opportunity to participate and receive recognition.

During the 1986-87 school year Kentucky has 147 FFA chapters, with a membership of 12,631. Over 1,000 FFA members and teachers attended 1 week of FFA leadership development training at the Kentucky FFA Leadership Training Center in Hardinsburg, KY.

The FFA chapters, and the individual members, that are in the Second Congressional District of Kentucky, which I have the privilege of representing in the Congress, received many awards at the State and National levels.

The 60th National Convention was held in Kansas City, MO this past November. At the convention the Spencer County chapter received a gold emblem chapter ranking in the Building Our American Communities Awards Program and the National Chapter Safety Awards Program.

The National FFA Chapter Award Program honors superior FFA chapters for their excellence in chapter activities. Each chapter was judged on performance in 11 areas. The Spencer County chapter was ranked as a gold emblem chapter, and the Barren County and Breckinridge County chapters were ranked as silver emblem chapters.

Four members from the Second Congressional District were honored at the national convention for reaching the highest rung of membership available to an individual—the American Farmer Degree: Brad Chambliss of Hardinsburg, David Herndon of Mount Eden, Barry Alan Hines of Philpot, and Clarence A. Thomas, Jr. of Taylorsville.

Many FFA members become highly proficient in their chosen areas, and these members earned top honors as national winners in 29 proficiency areas. Each winner received a plaque, \$1,000 and an expense-paid agricultural tour of Europe. Paul Miles of Owensboro received the Agricultural Proficiency Award for "Oil Crop Production."

T.J. Hale of Franklin was a member of the horn section in the National FFA Band at the convention, and Brian Eadens of Bowling Green as an official delegate from the Commonwealth of Kentucky to the national convention.

Mr. Patrick Henderson of Harned, a vocational education teacher at the Breckinridge County High School, received the FFA Honorary American Farmer Degree. Mr. Joe Frank Duncan of Rockfield was the State winner of the Agriscience Teacher of the Year Award.

At the 1987 State convention the Spencer County Chapter was named the State winner of the Farm Operation Identification Program. The chapter members marked equipment on 33 farms and 28 farm homes in Spencer County.

Scott Hardin was selected as the individual chapter winner.

The Spencer County Chapter was also the State winner in the Chapter Safety Program. The chapter selected "Safety Awareness—Before it is too Late" as its theme. The Spencer County chapter went on to compete at the national level. The Daviess County, Barren County, Breckinridge County, and the Grayson County chapters were ranked as superior.

The Spencer County chapter was ranked as a gold emblem chapter and the Franklin-Simpson, Breckinridge County, and Barren County chapters were ranked as silver emblem chapters in the Building Our American Communities Program.

The regional star farmers were selected as the most outstanding from the Kentucky FFA membership, based on their accomplishments in the FFA and the Supervised Occupational Experience Programs in vocational agriculture. The following FFA members from the Second Congressional District were honored as star farmers: Denise Gayle Wood of Glasgow, Terry Keith Broadus of Bloomfield, and Mark Allen Glasscock of Taylorsville.

Brian Eadens of Bowling Green is the president of the Kentucky Association FAA for 1987-88, and Lee Carol Greenwell of Lebanon is the treasurer.

I am proud of all the members of the Future Farmers of America, and I know of no group of young people who are accomplishing more in the area of agriculture than the Future Farmers of America. They are to be commended for their efforts and achievements, and I want to wish them continued success in all their future endeavors.

MIAMI-DADE PUBLIC LIBRARY HONORED FOR STAND AGAINST CENSORSHIP

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, through the years, public libraries have often borne the brunt of efforts at censorship. Today, they lead the fight against censorship. That is the reason our own Miami-Dade Library was selected by the Miami Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union as the recipient of its first Acts of Courage Award.

The Miami-Dade Library sponsored "Censorship and Libraries: Exhibitions and Programs" included a series of lectures, discussions, readings, exhibits and an unusual "banned film series" featuring such controversial films as D.W. Griffith's "Birth of a Nation" and the 1978 movie "La Cage Aux Folles."

Freedom of information is one of the cornerstones of democracy, yet it is often of the most difficult of our rights to safeguard. In our society, the open exchange of ideas, information and opinions sometimes leads to conflicts which elicit strong arguments and emotions.

The Miami-Dade Public Library is to be commended for pointing out the dangers of censorship and for increasing public understanding of the many diverse, sometimes con-

flicting elements that contribute to a healthy pluralistic community.

TRIBUTE TO THOMAS GIANCRISTOFORO

HON. CURT WELDON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. WELDON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to a friend who will be honored for 25 years of public service on February 27, 1988, by the Delaware County Association of Township Commissioners.

Thomas Giancristoforo, a resident of Tinicum Township, began his career in community service as a member of the Essington and Lester fire companies, where he continues to serve. In 1964 Mr. Giancristoforo was elected as a member of the Tinicum Township Board of Commissioners and served for 16 years as police commissioner. In 1980 he was appointed by his colleagues as president of the board of commissioners, a position which he still holds.

In addition to his career in public service Mr. Giancristoforo has always been greatly involved in community affairs, and is president of the Tinicum Township Patriotic Commission as well as a member of the Norwood Lions Club.

Mr. Giancristoforo's outstanding work as an elected official has been formally recognized on numerous occasions. Among his many tireless efforts on the behalf of the residents of Tinicum Township, Mr. Giancristoforo played a vital role in securing the location of the United Parcel Service regional facility in that area. This facility alone will create 4,700 new jobs for the region. In recognition of this and other efforts to better the economic condition of Delaware County, the Delaware County Chamber of Commerce honored Mr. Giancristoforo with the "Outstanding Community Award."

Mr. Speaker, I am sure you will agree that Thomas Giancristoforo is an outstanding public servant and leader. I rise proudly with his family and the residents of Tinicum Township in commending Mr. Giancristoforo on his exemplary service to our community.

ULSTER SHOOT TO KILL POLICY

HON. ROBERT A. BORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, true partnership inspires progress just as surely as bad faith destroys hope. This is a lesson which Great Britain has never learned and it is no closer to learning that lesson today.

Britain's ill-advised actions on several fronts have crushed the hopes which many of us had cherished for sustained improvement in Anglo-Irish relations. In the last 30 days, Great Britain has offered a new definition of the word "partnership."

Under the British notion of partnership. Great Britain decides, and Ireland abides. Ireland has been freely given the right to speak, but England has demonstrated that it will not heed the voice of its partner.

Yesterday, another British soldier was charged in the slaying of an unarmed Catholic. A day earlier, Britain disclosed that one of its soldiers who had been sentenced to life for killing an unarmed Catholic in Northern Ireland, was paroled after 3 years and was back in the army.

In addition, when faced with an overwhelming public demand to try members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary for the murder of innocent, Irish, noncombatants, the English authorities have declined to prosecute, or reveal their findings.

Without consulting the Irish Government in Dublin, Britain made permanent the emergency powers which allow it to detain Irish citizens for up to 7 days without bringing a charge against them.

Moreover, an Irish law which requires Britain to submit charges and evidence when demanding the extradition of Irish citizens has consistently been ignored.

Finally, this month has seen British justice perform as ignobly as the British Government: ignoring a huge body of scientific and forensic evidence, and the outraged cries of members of its own Parliament, who have called for the release of the Birmingham Six, and the Guildford Four.

Mr. Speaker, when the Anglo-Irish accords were announced more than 2 years ago, hopes were raised around the world that a new partnership, founded on justice and mutual advantage, had slowly begun to form.

If there is to be a successful Anglo-Irish partnership then Britain must be as willing to share the burdens as she has been to reap the benefits.

I challenge Britain to stop promising cooperation, and start delivering simple justice to Ireland. Put those involved in the shoot-to-kill cases on a public trial, and let the facts come out. Invite the Government in Dublin to join as an equal partner in policy discussions about the extradition and incarceration of Irish citizens. Demand that your courts of law promote justice.

Britain, you have broken faith with your Irish partner, as you always have throughout history. Ireland's terrible beauty was born and has been raised in your shadow. Yours could be the first generation to keep faith with the Irish people.

But that will never be accomplished in a hollow accord, or in an empty promise. You can only reverse centuries of mistrust, neglect and broken promises by making one good decision at a time, right here and right now.

Start with this past month: don't turn your back on coverups, illegal detentions, and official murders. Your actions will answer our hopes and prayers for peace and for progress. Will you answer yes?

TRIBUTE TO CAPT. THOMAS DICKSON

HON. CHRISTOPHER SHAYS

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to acknowledge the achievements of a citizen of Southbury, believed to be the oldest living man to have rounded Cape Horn five times under sail.

Captain Dickson's career began in 1915 when he, holding both British and United States masters licenses, sailed as a cadet on the *Medway*, a four-masted British training ship. This 2,200-ton historical vessel is one of the last of its kind to round the cape.

In 1930 Captain Dickson emigrated to the United States, going to work for the United Fruit Co. During World War II, though not yet a citizen, Captain Dickson, served with the merchant marines, carrying supplies to GI's around the globe. This duty included operating in the Atlantic Theatre (1942), the Aleutians (1943), and the Southwest Pacific (1944-45).

In 1946 the captain became a U.S. citizen—quite an accomplishment considering the fact that he served under foreign flag vessels.

This Saturday, February 27, 1988, Capt. Thomas Dickson will celebrate his 90th birthday with his wife, two children, and four grandchildren. In recognition of this special day, I am honored to bring to my colleagues' attention the achievements of this unique American citizen.

HONORING 70 YEARS OF MARRIAGE

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. and Mrs. John Humphrey (Antha Hutchison) celebrated their 70th wedding anniversary on January 20. They were married in Union County, TN, in 1918. Mr. and Mrs. Humphrey moved to Knoxville in 1947 and have been in the same house on Jefferson Avenue for 40 years.

Mr. Humphrey held many jobs during his career from farming to carpentry and Mrs. Humphrey worked as a seamstress. The Humphreys have four children, six grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Mr. and Mrs. Humphrey have made good use of their many years together. I do not know of anyone who has more friends and I am sure it must be a great source of pride and pleasure to have reached this milestone together. I wish to congratulate the Humphreys on this special occasion and extend my good wishes to the entire family.

TRIBUTE TO GERALDINE
CAMILLERI-BEHME

HON. NORMAN Y. MINETA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a good friend and a fine, fine person, Geraldine Camilleri-Behme.

Geraldine's death from lung cancer on February 16 was a loss not only to pet owners and the pet industry, it was a loss to me personally. In her 68 years, Geraldine cared for small animals with a manner and a devotion we can all admire. She was an activist for pet owners and for the pet industry. Indeed, she owned Andy's Pet Shop in San Jose for more than 36 years.

I'd known and worked with Geraldine for nearly 20 years. I first met her when I was a member of the San Jose City Council and she was striving to found the Bay Area Pet Industry Association, which did indeed come into being in 1971.

My admiration for her efforts grew as the years passed. Geraldine believed in nothing but the best for our pets and for their owners. In 1972 Geraldine organized a pet show at San Francisco's Moscone Center: a first for the city. In 1976 she brought about the west coast's first successful consumer pet show at the Santa Clara County Fairgrounds in the South Bay area. This production paved the way for the first American Pet Show, which was held in Anaheim in 1981.

Geraldine's work was recognized nationally. She was the first woman member of the Washington-based Pet Industry Joint Advisory Council. From 1978 to 1985 she was also a member of the council's board of directors.

Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that we are poorer for the loss of Geraldine. I ask that our colleagues in the House join in tribute to Geraldine and in wishing the very best to her family at this time.

TRIBUTE TO THOMAS FRANCIS
JOHNSON

HON. ROY DYSON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. DYSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise with sadness to pay my respects to Congressman Thomas Francis Johnson, who was killed February 1 in an auto accident. Mr. Johnson was a former Democratic Representative of Maryland's First District, serving in the 86th and 87th Congresses. He was a tireless worker for the First District, and we will miss him greatly.

Congressman Johnson was a native of his district, having been born in Snow Hill, MD, in 1909. He attended schools in Worcester County, MD, and received degrees from the University of Virginia and the University of Maryland. He was admitted to the bar and returned to Snow Hill, where he established his law practice. In 1932 he was elected chairman of the Board of Commercial National Bank in Snow Hill. Even after Congressman Johnson

left the House he remained an inhabitant of the First Congressional District, living in Berlin until the time of his death.

Mr. Johnson had a long and distinguished career in government. In 1934, he became Maryland's youngest State's attorney at the age of 24. In 1938, he was elected to office as a State senator, and he served in this capacity until 1951. At the time of his first election, he was the State's youngest senator. Later, in 1958, he was elected to his first term in the U.S. Congress, and served until 1963. After his retirement from the House, he returned to his law practice, specializing in international law.

In his brief career in the House, Mr. Johnson served Maryland's First District with honor and distinction. He was involved with foreign affairs, his first love, becoming a congressional expert on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. However, his first priority was his district. He worked hard for the First District, introducing bills to study the Rock Hall Harbor, to survey the Honga River and Tar Bay, and to aid the Delmarva Peninsula's wild duck and geese population. These measures worked to better the livelihood and enjoyment of the First Congressional District.

Representative Thomas Francis Johnson was a good man, representing the First Congressional District to the best of his ability. As his former constituent, I thank him for his actions. The death of Representative Johnson is a blow to the Eastern Shore and all Maryland. We lose a staunch defender of our hopes and dreams. He will be missed.

TRIBUTE TO STUART AND
CAROL SOLOMON

HON. HOWARD L. BERMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to my good friends Stuart and Carol Solomon, two wonderful people who have tirelessly devoted their energy and resources over the past 18 years to the Jewish community of the San Fernando Valley. The University of Judaism and Valley Beth Shalom will honor Stuart and Carol at a tribute breakfast on February 28, 1988, for their many years of outstanding service.

Stuart's extensive volunteer and business affiliations testify to his commitment to the many facets of Jewish life. Not only is he president of Genesta Realty Services, Inc. and Genesta Property Management, he serves on the boards of the United Way North Angeles Region, the Community Relations Committee, the Valley Presbyterian Hospital Foundation, and the Jewish Federation Council-San Fernando Region. He is president of the Basin Recreational Environment Committee Non-Profit Foundation and a member of the Young Presidents Organization. Stuart is a past president of the Valley Industry and Commerce Association and was a member of the Jewish Federation Council Synagogue Affairs Committee.

Stuart has also given dedicated service to numerous committees of Valley Beth Shalom.

He served as the vice president of the board of directors, the vice president of both administration and finance, and he chaired the selection committee for associate Rabbi and executive director. Presently, he is the vice chairman of the Board of Governors.

Carol enjoys a successful career as the owner of a manufacturer's representative group which wholesales stationery, greeting cards, and gifts throughout California. Over the years, she has shown great devotion to the education of Jewish youth. She was the first chairperson of Valley Beth Shalom's Bar/Bat Mitzvah counseling program and has also chaired the Multi-Interest Day Care Program, the Passover Basket Program, the educational director search committee and served as the cochair of the Valley Beth Shalom Food Bank. She has been active in the Valley Beth Shalom choir and the Mitzvah needlepoint group.

Stuart and Carol have three fine sons, Jeff, Owen, and Mike, who share the community's pride in their parents.

It is my honor and pleasure to join the University of Judaism and Valley Beth Shalom in paying tribute to Stuart and Carol Solomon for their outstanding contributions and commitment to the Jewish community.

WE THE PEOPLE 1988 TOURNAMENT OF ROSES SALUTE TO THE CONSTITUTION'S BICENTENNIAL

HON. CARLOS J. MOORHEAD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1988

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the citizens of California and the United States, the California Bicentennial Foundation for the U.S. Constitution sponsored a "We The People" float in the world's most observed annual parade, the Tournament of Roses Parade, on January 1, 1988, in Pasadena, CA. The float was intended to remind all Americans of the ongoing 4-year commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution.

The float, entitled, "The Constitution: 200 Years of Communicating Liberty," carried the largest American flags ever assembled of roses which symbolically joined the birth of our society, represented by a replica of Independence Hall, with our next great frontier in space, symbolized by astronaut Buzz Aldrin standing on the landscape of Mars.

Along with astronaut Aldrin, the pilot of the *Eagle* lunar lander, other American living legends included Muhammad Ali, representing the continued vitality of the Constitution in protecting the rights of all Americans, and Mickey Mouse, America's most beloved good will ambassador to the world.

Other float riders, representing the diversity of the American experience, included Olympic Gold Medalist Paul Gonzalez, Multi-Cultural Broadcasting Representative Yuko Sakamoto, Boy Scouts of America Cub Scout J. Parker Paul, "We The People" invitees Sarah Beth Heller and Marlene White, Filipino-American representatives Lou Baron and Melanie Cue-

vedas, chairman of the California Bicentennial Commission Jane Crosby, spokesman Mario Machado, and mascot Bicentennial Ben.

This unique internationally observed tribute and salute to the Constitution was made possible by individual donations of rose sponsorships by thousands of Americans from around the Nation whose support should be recognized in this record along with the support of the Filipino-American community, the largest Asian-ethnic community in the Nation, the Walt Disney Co., marking the 60th birthday of America's good will ambassador Mickey Mouse, and the California State lottery. We salute the following individual rose sponsors and invite all Americans to continue commemorative and educational projects increasing awareness and appreciation of the cornerstone of our society, the Constitution.

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Lake County Council of Republican Women, Latham & Watkins, League of Women Voters of Beverly Hills, Leyte Samar, Inc., Local 1061, Long Beach Gentelco Federal Credit Union, Los Angeles Federal Executive Board-GSA, Millbrae Bicentennial Commission, Monterey Bay Republican Women's Club, Montrose Travel, Naval Aviation Depot, Newport Harbor High School Associated Student Body, Nomad Shrine Club Ghom Islam Temple, Northridge Elementary School PTA, Oasis Garden Club of Indian Wells, Ocean View Masonic Lodge #144.

Orange County Republican Women Fed., Palos Verdes Peninsula Rep. Womens Fed., ParkLaBrea Republican Women's Club, Periscope Productions, Pollock Pines Republican Womens Fed. #1726, Preceptor Kappa Omega-Beta Sigma Phi, Professional Nursing Services, Inc., Rancho La Habra

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